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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE REASONS OF THE Conduct of *Great Britain*, With Relation to the Present State of AFFAIRS IN *EUROPE.*

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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

REASONS

OF THE

CONDUCT of *Great-Britain*, &c.

THE whole Face of Affairs in *Europe* is, within the Space of the laſt Year, ſo much altered; that it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt unconcerned Spectator to prevent his Thoughts from running out into Queſtions and Suppoſitions about it. Curioſity itſelf, the loweſt Principle of all our Enquiries, will force its Way into ſuch a Scene: And will expect, or invent, ſome Account of ſo ſurprizing a *Change*; from a Calm hardly paralleled by any paſt *Proſpect*, to a ſudden Gathering of Clouds; which, if not ſoon diſſipated, muſt burſt, and diſcharge themſelves ſome where or other.

But when Self-Intereſt is joined to this natural Curioſity; and it becomes a *perſonal* and

National Concern, to know the main Cauſes and Springs of ſuch Events, as All are intereſted in; there ſeems then to be a Right, ſtrictly ſo called, to demand and receive all the Satisfaction the Nature of ſuch Affairs can permit to be given. In a free Nation eſpecially, where no Reſolutions can be effectual without the Conſent and Support of the Community, every Man, who can think at all, will think it an injurious Treatment, if, at a proper Time, and in a proper Manner, ſome Light be not held forth to him; and ſome ſatisfactory Solution given of ſuch Appearances, as muſt otherwiſe very much perplex and diſturb him. And one Thing *Governors* themſelves are ſure to find, That unleſs they ſhew ſuch a Regard to Thoſe who juſtly think they have a Claim to it, this Evil will come to paſs, that Mankind (always diſpoſed enough towards Diſſatisfaction, either through a ſort of natural Ill-will to Thoſe above them, or through a Wearineſs under the Continuance of the ſame *Adminiſtration*, or through an affected *Popularity*, or real *Patriotiſm* not ſufficiently inſtructed) will take that Side of the Proſpect to dwell upon, which will afford them moſt Matter for Satyr at Home; and lay all the Load upon the Conduct of Thoſe, in whoſe Time of Power ſuch a *Criſis* of Political Affairs appears in the World.

All this was never more true, than in this Nation, and at this Time. Every *Briton* who, either by his Treaſure or his Blood, by his Vote or his Intereſt, by his Perſon or his Repreſentative, has in Time paſt bor'n any Part

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in procuring the Common Peace, and eſtabliſhing the ſeveral Intereſts, of *Europe* : Every ſuch Member of the *Britiſh* Nation, who, by this Time flattered himſelf with Hopes of enjoying the Reſult of all our Toil, and Taxes, and Blood, in an Univerſal Peace, and an extended undiſturbed Commerce, has a Right to ask, — How comes this Face of Things to be again over-clouded?—All *Europe* once more in Agitation— Three Fleets from *Britain* fitted out at a great Expence, and with the utmoſt Expedition ſent to ſeveral Parts of the World : — And, what is moſt unaccountable, the *Emperor* and *Spain*, Powers that could hardly be kept within the Bounds of Common Decency, towards one another, by all the Addreſs of two powerful Mediators in a *publick* Treaty, abandoning that *Mediation* ; and, in the Middle of it, privately running into one another's Arms, and uniting, in Deſigns deſtructive to the *Commerce* and *Rights* of other Nations, with all the Marks of Cordial Affection and a Reſolute Friendſhip.

Is not This, the *King* of *Spain* — of that Country, which has always felt the Want of the Friendſhip of *Britain*, more than of That of all other Nations beſides; to ſuch a Degree, that it has paſſed into a *Proverb* throughout the Kingdom, *Paz con* Inglatérra, *con todos otros la Guerra : Peace with* England, *and War with all the World beſides ?* — of that *Country*, which reaps more Advantage from the Trade with *England*, than from That of all its other Neighbours put together? — And, Is not this the

ſame

ſame King, whoſe Engagements to the *Intereſts* and *Poſſeſſions* of *Britain* in *his* Country, are as ſolemn and ſtrong, as the moſt expreſs Treaties can make them? — The ſame, who juſt before the Opening the Congreſs at *Cambray*, owned and ratified them all, by acceding in Form to the *Quadruple Alliance*; and accepting, by That, the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*?

And above all, if we turn our Eyes to the *Emperor*; Is not This the *Prince*, whom we once bore upon *our* Shoulders, out of the Reach of all his Enemies, and ſupported by *our* Strength in the Time of his own greateſt Weakneſs? — The *Prince*, whom *our* Zeal, and *our* Fleets, and *our* Treaſure, laboured to fix upon the Throne of *Spain*, at a Time when Difficulties and Dangers ſurrounded the whole Imperial Houſe at *Vienna*? — And now, Veſted, as we always wiſhed Him to be, with the High and Auguſt Dignity He enjoys; Is not this the *Emperor*, who may juſtly be ſaid to owe the Preſervation even of all his Hereditary Countries, and of his Imperial Crown itſelf, (if we may have liberty to ſay ſo,) to that hazardous and unequalled March of the Confederate Army into *Germany*, and to the happy Conſequences of it? To that *Victory*, in which the *Britiſh*, *Dutch*, *Hanoverian*, *Pruſſian*, and *Heſſian* Troops bore ſo great a Part; and, in a particular Manner, to that *Britiſh* General, who projected and conducted the *Whole*? — And the ſame *Emperor*, who, as He was throughout the laſt War the chief Object of the Love and good Wiſhes of this Nation, ſo, at the End of it, was eſta-

eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of *Flanders*; and owes *Oſtend* itſelf to thoſe victorious Arms, which had before ſupported his Perſon, and preſerved the *Empire* for him? And all this long Scene of Service and Toil, entered into and proſecuted by us, We muſt own, againſt the repeated Remonſtrances of *many*, that We were haſtening apace to make Him a Power too great and too formidable; and that we ſhould find in *Him* at laſt, the Enemy we then dreaded only in *another*?

It is natural to every *Briton* to look back, and to ask theſe and the like Queſtions. And the next Thought which ſucceeds, is almoſt as natural; That it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that theſe Powers ſhould take ſuch Steps without ſomething to juſtify them. We can hardly imagine it poſſible, That, without ſome real and high Provocation, the *Emperor* could throw any the leaſt Indignity upon the *Crown* of *Great Britain*; or act any injurious or even hard Part towards a Nation which had ſacrificed ſo much Treaſure and ſo much Blood to his Service. And therefore, we are apt enough to conclude, (and have Reaſon to do ſo, till we find it otherwiſe) That ſome great Miſmanagement on the Part of *Britain*; ſome unjuſtifiable Partiality towards Others; ſome Breach of Faith; ſome Outrage or other in Politicks, has been committed againſt his *Imperial Majeſty:* Or, that ſome unpardonable Behaviour on our Part, with Regard to his juſt Intereſts, muſt have been the Occaſion of a Conduct that ſo far exceeds the Common Maxims

of

of *Princes* and *States* towards one another.

And indeed, I ſhall be very free to own, If this be the Caſe; if either ſolemn *Treaties*, or any Engagements, with the *Court* of *Vienna*, have been broke through; if either Affronts, or even Neglects inconſiſtent with the Duty of a faithful Ally, have been Part of the Conduct of the *preſent* Court of *Great-Britain* towards his *Imperial Majeſty*; former Appearances ought not to be ſpoken of; all paſt Obligations ought to be as nothing in the preſent Account; the *Emperor* has a Right to guard and ſtrengthen himſelf by Treaties *contrary* to his former Treaties, and to act the Part He judges beſt for his own Honour and Security: And we of this Nation have no Right to tax *Him*, either with Ingratitude unprovoked, or with Breach of Faith without the Appearance of a Juſtification; but ought to turn all our Zeal againſt Thoſe, whoſe Counſels, and whoſe Behaviour, upon this Suppoſition, have made ſuch a Conduct on his Part, wiſe, juſt, and neceſſary. And the ſame muſt be acknowledged with Regard to *Spain* alſo; if any ſuch *Excuſe* can juſtly be alledged, on that Side.

We will now, therefore, enquire What has been the Behaviour of the *King* and *Nation* of *Great Britain*, ſince his preſent *Majeſty* came to the Throne, towards the *Emperour* particularly: and, as we paſs, towards *Spain* alſo. And I will put the Account of this into *two Periods*. The *firſt* ſhall be, from his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, to the Opening the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*: The *Second*, from the Opening of that

that *Congreſs* to the Signing of the *Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*.

At the Time when his *Majeſty* came to the Throne of *Great Britain*, ſeveral Points of great Importance remain'd to be adjuſted, before the *Peace* of *Europe* could be eſteem'd as a Thing fix'd upon any laſting and ſolid Foundation; in particular, ſome Things very uneaſy to the *Emperor*, and others very much deſired by *Spain*. In conſideration of this, his Majeſty, after other previous Treaties and Conventions, enter'd directly upon theſe neceſſary Points, which were fix'd in the *Treaty* of *London*, *July* 22. 1718. entirely to the Emperor's Satisfaction: who was himſelf a *Party* in that Treaty, and confirm'd with his own Hand what his *Miniſters* had before ſign'd in his Name. His *Italian* Dominions, always dear to him, He juſtly thought not very ſecure, without the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; upon which the Preſervation of *Naples* very much depends. This great and important Point, the *King* of *Great Britain* fix'd, as a main Article of this *Treaty*: and engaged, in Concert with *France*, that, *Sardinia* being deliver'd up to the *Emperor* by *Spain*, the *King* of *Sicily* ſhould accept of that Iſland in lieu of *Sicily*, which He ſhould yield to the *Emperor*.

On the Part of *Spain*, a Favourite Point was likewiſe ſettled. Don *Carlos*, Son to the preſent *Queen*, was eſtabliſh'd in the Succeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*: And This conſented to, by the *Emperor*, who alone was capable of diſturbing it; and effectually guaranteed by the *Powers* of *Britain* and *France*. I

will at preſent name no other Particulars, but theſe *two* principal ones. Some other Points, Circumſtances, and Incidents, in order to perfect the Peace between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, remain'd to be ſettled in a Congreſs, under the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*: And this *Mediation* made a Part and an expreſs Article of this *Treaty* of *London*, to which the *Emperor* long ago, and *Spain* afterwards, ſet their Hands, and gave their ſolemn Conſent. The former of the two Articles now mentioned, *viz. That* relating to *Sicily*, did not long ſubſiſt in Words only; but was ſoon actually put in Execution; and the *Emperor* put in Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

Hitherto, Nothing but *Friendſhip* appears: And perhaps, Friendſhip to Exceſs. What the *Emperor* exceedingly deſired, is granted to Him: And nothing granted to *Others*, but what the *Emperor* himſelf had previouſly conſented to, as a reaſonable and fitting *Equivalent*. Neither had the King of *Spain* any Reaſon to complain, when the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* in *Italy* was put in ſo ſure a Way of taking place at the Time appointed. So far indeed, was *He* from it; That, before the Opening of the *Congreſs*, He himſelf acceded to the *Treaty* of *London*, and conſented to all the Allotments made in it.

The *Congreſs* was at length open'd at *Cambray*, *Jan.* 26. N. S. 1723-4. in order to ſettle all remaining Uncertainties, under the Care of the two mediating Powers, *Britain* and *France*. This will be a *Second Period*; from this Opening at *Cam-*

Cambray, to the Opening of another Scene at *Vienna*. And through the whole Management of this *Congreſs*, the Part the *Mediators* acted, was ſo impartial, ſo equitable, ſo agreeable to the Treaty of *London*, which was the Baſis of this Congreſs; that the moſt ſolemn Appeal may be made to Both the *conteſting Powers*, Whether any one Step was taken, which could give any the leaſt juſt Ground of Complaint. No Appeal is, indeed, neceſſary. The *Imperial Court* would loudly have complain'd of any Conduct; if there had been any towards that Court which could have deſerv'd it. But there never was any Complaint of that Sort from thence: Nor indeed could there have been any made, without diſcovering at the ſame Time that there was nothing to complain of, but the too great Equity and Juſtice obſerv'd by the *Mediators* between the two contending Powers; and their reſolute Adherence to all *Treaties*; and particularly to *that* of *London*, to which this Court itſelf had conſented. Nor did *Spain* make the leaſt Complaint againſt the Behaviour of the *mediating Powers*, through the whole Progreſs of the Mediation; but what aroſe from the conſtant Juſtice of the Mediators, in keeping within the Bounds of their Duty and Honour, and their not giving into any new and exorbitant Demands of that Court.

Thus, therefore, ſtands the Caſe. Whilſt a *Mediation* was happily going on, under the Sanction of a ſolemn Treaty, appointing this *Mediation*; and this *Appointment* ſign'd, and conſented to, by theſe contending Crowns; with-

out any apparent Diſſatisfaction, or even the leaſt Pretence for it, a *private Treaty* is enter'd into, carried on, and finiſh'd at *Vienna*; in plain Contradiction to that *Article* relating to the *Mediation*, by which They had ſolemnly obliged themſelves to ſettle the Points in Difference, under the Eye and Influence of *Great Britain* and *France:* And the whole conducted with the higheſt Diſreſpect to the mediating Powers, and without the leaſt ſeeming Deſire of keeping the common Meaſures of Decency with them. Conſidering, therefore, only the Manner and Circumſtances attending this Tranſaction between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, at *Vienna*; as it was a Violation of an *expreſs Article* of a former Treaty ſign'd by Themſelves, and an high and unprovoked Indignity offered to the *Mediators*; theſe were alone enough to juſtify the *Mediators*, in any publick Act of due Reſentment of ſuch Uſage.

But ſo far were They from ſhewing any ſuch Reſentment; ſo far from making this open Affront, the Occaſion of an open Rupture; that, when the *Signing of this Treaty was* firſt, in Form, notified to the two Courts of *Britain* and *France;* and it was declared to be no other than a *Defenſive* one, with Regard only to the mutual Satisfaction of the *Emperor* and *Spain;* and not contradictory, but perfectly agreeable, to the Treaty of *London:* So far were They from improving ſuch Uſage into a publick Quarrel, that both at Home, and by their Miniſters every where Abroad, They expreſs'd a great Pleaſure that the *Two Powers*, whom the *Mediators* at *Cambray* could not bring even to

Terms

Terms of common Civility towards one another, had found the happy Means, without the Ceremony and Aſſiſtance of any *Mediator*, to get over Difficulties that had been declared almoſt inſuperable; and to link themſelves in the Bands of Friendſhip, upon Terms, not inconſiſtent (as it was affirm'd) with the *Repoſe* of *Europe*. This was the great End of the Congreſs itſelf: And, if this End were anſwer'd; the Mediating Powers were not ſollicitous about the Means uſed in compaſſing it; but could paſs over the great Diſregard ſhewn towards Themſelves, in Conſideration of the ſolid and common Good obtain'd by this Agreement.

But in how decent a Manner ſoever, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* treated this Affair: Thoſe of the *Emperor* and *Spain* ſaw very well that ſuch a Step could not but be very ſhocking to the *Mediators*; and ſtood in need of the beſt Apology They could make. And very luckily (as They or their *Agents* thought) for Themſelves, the Behaviour of the *Court* of *France*, in ſending back the *Infanta* to *Spain*; joined with his *Britannick* Majeſty's not accepting the *ſole Mediation* at *Cambray*; furniſhed them with One as good as They could have wiſh'd. And therefore, the *Imperial Miniſters* at *Cambray*, at *London*, and at *Paris*, were very ready at firſt to put it all upon this; and to declare that, the Reaſon of this extraordinary Step was, that the *Court* of *France* having affronted his *Catholick Majeſty* in ſo high and ſo unpardonable a Manner, that *Spain* could not in Honour any longer act with the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, as a *Mediator*;

tor ; and the *King* of *Great Britain* having declined to act as *ſole* Mediator, when it was propos'd to him to do ſo by the *Crown* of *Spain :* This broke off all Hopes of any Effect from the Congreſs at *Cambray ;* and left his *Catholick Majeſty* nothing to do, but to fly to *Vienna ;* and, out of a due Reſentment of ſo great an Injury, and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, to throw himſelf entirely upon the Honour and Equity of that Court: And, more particularly, that his *Imperial Majeſty*, upon *Ripperda*'s firſt Applications, ſhewed a great Unwillingneſs to move the *Negociations* out of their Courſe at *Cambray* ; but at laſt prevailed upon himſelf, out of Love to the *Publick Tranquillity*, to conſent to the carrying them on at *Vienna*, after he found it more and more plain, that the Reſentment of *Spain* againſt *France*, and his *Britannick Majeſty's* Refuſal of the *Sole Mediation*, made it impoſſible to proceed at *Cambray*.

Such was the Language of the *Imperialiſts*, upon the firſt Notification of the *Vienna Treaty*, when they thought it needful to make an Apology for it. And tho' it cannot be affirmed that the *Court* of *Spain* did itſelf expreſly offer this, as the firſt moving Reaſon of that Piece of Conduct ; yet (according to the beſt Accounts from *Spain*) upon the firſt publick News of the *Vienna* Treaty at *Madrid*, the Diſcourſes of many were taught to run that Way, and to dwell upon that ſame popular Topick. And without Doubt it was thought a very cunning Part, thus to attribute ſuch a Conduct

to

to ſudden *Rage* and Paſſion; that *this* might afford ſome Colour for a *Treaty* in Appearance ſo detrimental to *Spain*, and a little palliate the *low Terms* accepted by that Crown; and by this means, as they flattered themſelves, remove all Suſpicion of any pernicious and unjuſtifiable Secret behind the Curtain, till the due Time came for revealing it.

But as *Facts* and *Dates* are ſtubborn Things, not to be ſhaken by the Sound of Words and plauſible Speeches; this itſelf proved the moſt unlucky Pretence poſſible: and only opened a Door to the beſt-grounded Suſpicions, that ſomething very bad, too bad to be owned, was at the Bottom of ſuch a Behaviour.

The Courts of *Great Britian* and *France* were not ſo idle Spectators of the Affairs of *Europe*, but that they had long before this the moſt evident Proofs in their Poſſeſſion, that this Account of that Tranſaction was impoſſible to be true. The Reſolution of the *Court* of *France*, relating to the *Infanta*, did not come (no, not in Suſpicion) to *Madrid*, till *March* 8. *N. S.* 1724-5. *Ripperda*, who conducted the *new Treaty*, had been ſent to *Vienna* above *three Months* before that: and even his *full Powers* for making this *clandeſtine Treaty* were ſign'd *Nov.* 22. 1724. And ſoon after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was ſign'd in Form at *Vienna*, the publick Language at the Court of *Madrid*, was, That they had looked upon the *Peace* with the *Emperor*, as a Thing ſure ever ſince the preceding *March* 29. on which Day a *Courier* was known to come from *Vienna* to *Madrid*, with

with the News of all the *principal Articles* being adjusted, *i. e. twenty one Days only*, from the Day of the first News at *Madrid*, of the King of *France*'s Resolution of annulling his Marriage with the *Infanta*.

This is so evident a kind of Demonstration, that Persons of the lowest Understanding cannot but conclude from it, how absurd it is, to make this *Resolution* of the *Court* of *France*, the first Step towards an Excuse for what was resolved on, and set on foot, with full Powers signed for the Purpose, above three Months before it. For who is there, that cannot immediately see, That a Proceeding authorized, *November* 22. could not be owing to an Affront which was not heard of, till *March* 8. following? And that a *Treaty* thoroughly adjusted, in its main Articles, at *Vienna*, so early in *March*, as to be known at *Madrid* the *Twenty ninth* of that Month, could not be so much as facilitated, or modelled by what was not known at *Madrid* till the *Eighth* of the same *March*: And which therefore, could not in so few Days be sent to *Vienna*, to operate *there*; and the *News* of that *Operation* be return'd to *Madrid*?

But, if possible, it was still more unaccountable to draw an Excuse from his *Britannick Majesty*'s not taking upon himself the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray*: which it was well known he could not have done without an open Affront to *France*; and a manifest Violation of the *Quadruple Alliance*; besides other Inconveniences. For it was not

not till *March* 9. 172⅘. that the *Court* of *Spain* moved this. — The *Motion* was then to be transmitted to *London*; and the Answer to it, to be sent back to *Madrid*. This Answer did not arrive till about *April* 24. following: and therefore, I need not say, could not have the least Part in a *Treaty* set on Foot above *four Months* before, and *sign'd* in Form *April* 30. 1725. at *Vienna*, *i. e.* about a Week after his Majesty's declining the *sole Mediation* was known at *Madrid*; and when it was impossible to be known at *Vienna*. These, therefore, were Pretences entirely foreign from the true Reasons of that Conduct. The *Treaty* of *Vienna* was authoritatively begun, and going forward, long before the *Provocation* from *France* could possibly palliate that clandestine and dishonourable Proceeding. And it must have been brought to perfect Maturity, *before* the Motion was so much as made to his *Majesty* to take on him the *sole Mediation*; because it was even sign'd in Form before the Intelligence of the King's Resolution against the *sole Mediation* could, with any Certainty, arrive at *Vienna*. And from such an Apology at the first Appearance of the *new Alliance*, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* had a Right to be jealous; and to suspect some Secrets of a very pernicious Nature still behind.

But we have not yet done with this first Scene. It is proper to observe, that during this whole Proceeding, and for the Space of above three Months after the News of sending back the *Infanta* was come from *France* to *Madrid*, the Expressions of *Friendship* towards the *British*

Court, ran as high as poſſible at the Court of *Spain*, *viz.* to this Purpoſe: " *That his* Catho-
" lick Majeſty *was reſolv'd to ſeparate him-*
" *ſelf for ever from* France, *and place his en-*
" *tire Friendſhip and Confidence ſolely in the*
" King *of* Great Britain: — *That to this End he*
" *now deſired to enter into the moſt ſtrict Engage-*
" *ments for the rendering that Friendſhip per-*
" *petual.* --- *That it was hoped,* his Majeſty
" *would ſuffer* the Negotiations at Cambray *to go*
" *on under* his Mediation *only,* INTO WHOSE
" HANDS HE WAS DESIROUS TO PUT ALL HIS
" INTERESTS, *&c.*" whilſt all this Time *Ripperda* was acting with *full Powers* at *Vienna*, in contradiction not only to this *Mediation*, and the Meaſures by which it muſt have been conducted, had his Majeſty accepted it; but, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, to all ſubſiſting Engagements, and in Violation of the *Laws* of Friendſhip and Amity between Nations. Nay, whenever that *Negotiation* of *Ripperda*'s at *Vienna* happened to be touch'd upon, as a Piece of common Talk only, the Language of the Court *of Spain* was, " *That he was an enterpriſing Man, and loved*
" *to make a Noiſe in the World:*" inſinuating by this, that That *Court* had no Part in what *Ripperda* was doing at *Vienna*.

When *his Majeſty*'s Reaſons for not taking upon himſelf the *ſole Mediation* were repreſented at *Madrid*, the Force of them was acknowledged by that *Court*: and at the ſame Time a great Willingneſs was expreſſed to *accept even of a Reparation from* France, *for the* Indignity *offer'd to* Spain, *ſo it might come thro' the Hands of the*

the King *of* Great Britain, *and the Pleaſure that* Court *would have, upon ſuch a* Reparation, " *in* " *the Proſecution of the* Negotiations *at* Cam- " bray IN THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY " WERE BEGUN; His Majeſty *being a common* " *Friend to both Parties, and One of whoſe* " *Affection* Spain *had ſo often, and particularly* " upon this laſt Occaſion, received the moſt eſ- " ſential Proofs." I hardly need to obſerve, that at this very Time Things were ſo ripe at *Vienna*, that the *Treaty* of Peace was ſign'd in Form, *April* 30. about ſeven or eight Days after this Language of *Friendſhip* at the Court of *Madrid*; and after theſe earneſt Deſires expreſſed, of the Continuation of the Negotiations at *Cambray in the Manner in which they were begun.*

But this Way of Speaking did not ceaſe yet: For after *May* 21. on which Day a Courier arrived at *Madrid*, with the News that the *Treaty* of Peace between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, was ſign'd on *April* 30. After this publick Intelligence of a *Treaty* ſign'd at *Vienna*, the Language of the *Court* of *Spain* was full of *Excuſes for not having communicated the Steps of this* Negotiation *at* Vienna *to* his Britannick Majeſty; and full of the uſual Profeſſions of " a *particular Regard for his Friendſhip*, " *and a ſincere Deſire of cultivating the ſtrict-* " *eſt Union with him*; together with all Aſſu- " rances, " *That nothing had been ſtipulated in* " *this Treaty, in any wiſe prejudicial to the* King, " *or to the Intereſts of his Subjects, or in the* " *leaſt contrary to any of the Engagements en-* " *ter'd into with him, either ſeparately or joint-*

" *ly with* France; and Expreſſions of a *deep* " *Senſe of the great Obligation that* Court *had* " *to his Majeſty for the Proofs he had ſo often* " *given of his Friendſhip and Regard for the* " *Intereſt of* Spain; always accompanied with " the *Hope, that what had happened would in* " *no wiſe leſſen* his Majeſty's *Friendſhip, which* " this Court *entirely depended upon, and deſired* " *to cultivate by all the Ways poſſible.*"

There were indeed Tokens and Symptoms of Evil continually, during this whole Scene of *Civility*, ſhewing themſelves; fully ſufficient to guard againſt all Truſt in any ſuch Profeſſions, either of the Court of *Madrid*, or that of *Vienna*: and theſe, ſucceeded by *worſe* and *worſe* Appearances; and at laſt, by ſuch certain Proofs as can leave no doubt of a *Secret Treaty* of the moſt dangerous Conſequence between the two *new Allies*. And I will now mention ſome, in the Order of their Time.

1. On *May* 1. *O. S.* 1725. the *Emperor's Miniſter* at *London* notified in Form to the *Court* of *Great Britain*, the Signing of a *Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna* between his *Maſter* and the *King* of *Spain*: and communicated a *Copy* of that *Treaty* at the ſame Time. After Aſſurances that this *Treaty* was made upon the Foot of the *Quadruple Alliance*, with ſtrict Regard to all former Engagements, and the like; He expreſſed his Imperial Majeſty's Hope, that his *Britannick Majeſty* would *accede* to this *Treaty*; and by virtue of that *Acceſſion* be *Guarantee* to the *Succeſſion* to the Territories of the *Emperor*, as ſettled in his Family by a late Conſtitution: and be-

before he concluded, said, " That, after the signing " of the *Vienna Treaty*, *Ripperda* acquainted the " *Emperor* that there remain'd still some Things " to regulate between the *King* his Master, and " the *King* of *Great Britain*; and that the *King* of " *Spain* requested the *Emperor* to make use of his " *Mediation*, for the settling them: That the " *Emperor* had answer'd, that if these Affairs " had any Relation to the Treaty of *London* " or arose in consequence of that Treaty; and " if it should prove agreeable to his *Britannick Majesty*, he would employ his *Mediation*; " but otherwise, He would not concern himself " with them."

To all this it was answer'd, " That, as for " the *Signing* of the *Treaty* at *Vienna*, it was " no News here; his Majesty having already " by a Courier received Advice of it: That, " with Regard to the *Guaranty* mentioned, " his *Majesty* could not consent to burthen himself with new Obligations, by being *Guarantee* of the *Succession* lately established by the " *Emperor*; but was resolved to leave his " Hands at Liberty, in order to have it in his " Power to regard, and assist, his true Friends " upon all Occasions that may arise; and that, " as for what he had related as represented by " *Ripperda* to his *Imperial Majesty*, this Court " knew of nothing *Britain* had to settle with " *Spain*, but some Points of *Commerce*, for " which there could be no need of a *Mediator*."

And certainly, no one can think but that it was wisely and happily judged, to refuse a *Guaranty*, which might have been attended with

with ſo fatal Conſequences. For, as the *Emperor's* Children are now *Females* only; and the Influence of that *Succeſſion* upon *Europe* muſt depend upon the *Marriages* of theſe *Females;* and as no one *then* knew, to what *Princes* they might be hereafter married: It was wiſe in his *Majeſty* not to oblige *himſelf* to *ſupport* a *Succeſſion* which might poſſibly, by ſome future *Marriages*, become formidable to the reſt of *Europe*; and fatal in the End to *Britain* it ſelf. And as it was wiſe, ſo it is already proved to be *happy*, that ſuch an Engagement was refuſed: For (as it will by and by appear) the *Succeſſion* is *already* in Proſpect *formidable;* the *Archdutcheſſes* are deſtin'd to the *Infants* of *Spain*, and ſuch a *Power* ariſing from this Conjunction, as in all humane Probability may make the reſt of *Europe* tremble.

Nor can the Argument taken from the *Emperor's Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his Majeſty's Family, (which has been ſince urged,) be of any Force in this Caſe. For, in the *firſt Treaty* between his *Majeſty* and the *Emperor*, this *Prince* abſolutely refuſed to be *Guarantee* to our Succeſſion; and never would hear of it, 'till by the *Quadruple Alliance* his *Majeſty* had obtained for Him the great Advantage of the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. As therefore, his Imperial Majeſty refus'd the *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his *Majeſty's* Royal Family, in one Treaty, tho' a Treaty entered into and proſecuted with perfect Amity on both Sides; and as He would not *afterwards* come into it, but upon a very ſignal and beneficial Acquiſition to him-

himſelf firſt ſettled: *This* cannot be judged a good *Argument* for his *Majeſty*, to *accede* to a *Treaty* enter'd into and finiſh'd, not only without his Privity; not only without any Regard to his Friendſhip, or any one Mark of Reſpect towards him; but in open Diſreſpect to *him*, as *Mediator* at a Congreſs then ſubſiſting; and, under theſe very different Circumſtances, to become a *Guarantee* of a *Succeſſion*, of the Conſequences of which, to his own Kingdoms, and the reſt of *Europe*, no Judgment could be made, till the *Marriages* of the *two Archdutcheſſes* ſhould come to be ſettled and known. But, to return to our preſent Subject,

This *Propoſal* of the *King's* being a Guarantee for the *new eſtabliſh'd* Succeſſion in *Germany*, [to which the *Emperor* could not in Reaſon expect a Compliance] conſider'd alone, gave Ground for a Suſpicion, that ſome latent Matter for Quarrel was now treaſuring up. And this Suſpicion juſtly increaſed, upon the Offer of the *Emperor's Mediation*, coming at the ſame Time with this *Treaty* itſelf. For this *Offer* ſuppoſed *Differences* between *Britain* and *Spain*: And as theſe muſt be *Differences* without any real Ground, (every material Thing being ſettled by *Treaties* between thoſe two Nations,) this look'd like a Deſign to blow up a Fire where there was none; and to preſume an Uneaſineſs between *Spain* and *Britain*, which might be improved hereafter into an open Rupture.

It is impoſſible, as we paſs, not to obſerve how very artful the *Manner* of this *firſt* Propoſition

poſition muſt now appear, ſince Things have opened more to the Eyes of the World. The *Offer*, we ſee, is made for accomodating *Differences*, without naming, or hinting at, any particular one. There could be no doubt but that the *Offer* was really made with Relation to *Gibraltar*. The Emperor's Miniſter was not to name this: But ſome time after, the Court of *Madrid* openly avowed, that the Mediation *of the Emperor which Spain had accepted*, was a *Mediation for the Reſtitution of Gibraltar*: Nay, and ſome time after that, the *Emperor* himſelf, (as we ſhall ſoon ſee) orders his *Reſident* here, to ſhew the *Words* in which he had obliged himſelf to this *Mediation for Gibraltar*. Again, this *Offer* is made, merely as ariſing from a Diſcourſe of *Ripperda*'s; without the leaſt Hint of any *Obligation* upon the *Emperor* to make it, or to proſecute it. And afterwards, this Offer of *Mediation* appears, by Order of the Imperial Court, as an expreſs *Article* of a *Treaty* between *Him* and *Spain*. But, what is ſtill more, his Imperial Majeſty by his *Miniſter* repreſents his Anſwer to *Ripperda* to have been, that he would not concern himſelf in any Affair that did not ariſe in conſequence of the Treaty of *London*, not even ſo far as to uſe his *Mediation*: and afterwards (as it will preſently appear) by his *Reſident* here, produces the Article itſelf, by which he had *engaged* himſelf to uſe his good Offices, that is, his *Mediation*, for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; of that Place, the Poſſeſſion of which was known to be aſcertained to the Crown of *Great Britain* by that very *Treaty* of *London*, confirming the Treaty of

of *Utrecht*; and about which therefore, it was as well known, that there could be no just Ground for a Difference.

All this sufficiently confirms, in Event, the Justice of that *Suspicion* of some *Secret Agreements* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which the Offer of this *Mediation* immediately raised in the Court of *Great Britain*: And this, before the Treaty of *Peace* now delivered could be read and considered. But,

2. When the *Treaty* itself was read and examined; and such *Friendship* was seen to be established between *such Powers*, upon *such Terms*; the Consideration of this might justly raise yet stronger Suspicions. For thus the Case appeared. Nothing was found in this *Treaty of Peace*, of Importance, or, so much as in Appearance, Honourable to *Spain*: Nothing of the *Order* of the *Golden Fleece*, which had been so much insisted on at the Congress: Nothing of the *Titles* to be used by these *Two Powers*, but what might easily have been settled *there*, much more to the Honour of *Spain*. And, if we come to Points of much more Importance; the *Neutral Garrisons*, which, by the *Quadruple Alliance*, were to be the great Bulwarks of the Succession of *Don Carlos* to *Tuscany*; and every Thing the *Mediators* had propos'd for *his* Security, and that of the Duke of *Parma*, were all lost to *Spain* by this Proceeding: Whilst the *Emperor* gains every Thing, and particularly the *Guaranty* of his own *Succession* by *Spain*, which the *Imperial* Ambassadors had sollicited in vain at the *Congress*.

To see, therefore, *Two Powers*, full of such a Rancour against one another as had resisted the Influence of a powerful Mediation for *several* Years, now into short a Space of Time running into one another's Embraces, with so much Eagerness and Precipitation:—To find (upon comparing this *new Treaty* with *former* Pretensions,) the *Crown* of *Spain*, at *Cambray*, so exceedingly uneasy with the good Terms it was sure of obtaining by the *Congress* there; at *Vienna*, so *readily* submitting to *much worse*:—at *Cambray*, not to be satisfied with the Emperor's Faith, even with the *Guaranty* of *Britain* and *France* together; at *Vienna*, entirely depending upon the Faith of the same *Emperor*, without *any Guaranty* present or to come:—What could be collected from such an Appearance, even upon the first Reading, but that this *Treaty* of *Peace* now communicated at *London*, was not the sole Treaty made at *Vienna*; but that there must be a *secret* one still behind, too unjustifiable to be yet revealed? And of this more *Suspicions* followed thick upon one another. For,

3. Soon after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was signed at *Vienna*, which was *April* 30. 1725. *Ripperda*'s Insolences towards his *Majesty*, and even *Threatnings* began; and from that Time continued, till it was thought more *politick* to be more *silent*. Of these, the Advices from *Vienna* were now perpetually full. Such, for Instance, as these that follow, were his common Discourses.

" *If King* George *supports* France, *we know* " *very well how to place the Pretender upon* " *the Throne.*—Alberoni *was a Great Man, but*

" *com-*

" *committed many Blunders : One great one was,*
" *That he ſent the* Spaniſh *Fleet to* Sicily, *inſtead*
" *of Sending it to* England, *to dethrone the* King ;
" *which might eaſily then have been done : and this*
" *once done, the Way had been made plain for*
" *every Thing elſe.—— King* George *had beſt con-*
" *ſider how to come to Terms with us ; for we*
" *have it in our Power to puſh the* Pretender's
" *Intereſts with* Efficacy." And in all his Diſcourſes of this ſort, he always took it for granted, that the *Court* of *Vienna* would never make the leaſt Heſitation to enter into all the Meaſures of *Spain*.

His Converſations of this peculiar Malignancy towards his *Britannick* Majeſty, were without Number, and without Meaſure. And ſo far was he from ſeeming to deſire, they might be kept ſecret, that *one* of his Speeches to his Company was this: *I know all that I ſay, is told again. I am very glad of it. I ſay what I ſay, on Purpoſe that* it may be *told.* Nor did he ſpeak with much greater Reſpect of his *Majeſty*'s Allies. Particularly, upon the Mention of the *Treaty* of *Hanover*, between the *Kings* of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*, he ſaid aloud, *Yes, yes, We ſhall teach theſe little Gentlemen* (*Petits Meſſieurs*) *to make Treaties.* And I will add here that, about this ſame Time, a very conſiderable Man in the *Court* of *Vienna*, was not much behind *Ripperda* himſelf in his Regards towards his *Majeſty* ; when, in a *Converſation*, upon a Perſon's expreſſing his *Doubt* about his *Britannick Majeſty's undertaking* to be Guarantee of the *Auſtrian Succeſſion*, he

anſwered with a great deal of Emotion, *Then let him look to himſelf; for we are well inform'd they begin to be weary of him in* England.

We may well think theſe and many more *Inſults* and *Threatnings*, from Perſons of ſuch Figure at that Time, ſufficient to create new *Suſpicions*, as well as to ſtrengthen Thoſe already created. Such Uſage, and ſuch Freedom of Language, could not ariſe out of *nothing*; but muſt be the *Effect* of ſome *Agreements* and *Reſolutions*, not yet appearing to the World.

4. Theſe *Suſpicions* were greatly confirm'd by the Accounts from *Vienna* of *Ripperda*'s Expreſſions of another ſort, immediately after the ſigning the *Treaty* of *Peace*: *Expreſſions*, I mean, dropt ſometimes, as it were accidentally, upon ſeveral very important Points. He did not ſcruple, in proper Places, and upon proper Occaſions, to declare in Converſation, *that* Spain was *engaged to ſupport the Oſtend Company;* and when that led the Diſcourſe to *Gibraltar*, he ſaid, *We know* Gibraltar *to be impregnable; but by the Meaſures we have* now *taken here, we aſſure Our ſelves we ſhall oblige* England *to give it up*. At the ſame Time, he ſpake of the *Marriage of* Don Carlos *with the eldeſt* Archdutcheſs, *as a Thing* agreed upon; and added, *the* Prince *of* Aſturias, *for whom this Match was firſt deſigned, is conſumptive, and can't live*. And ſurely, ſuch *Expreſſions* muſt amount to the *ſtrongeſt Suſpicions* of a *Treaty*, as yet *Secret*, of which theſe *Three* important Points muſt make a Part. This is the *leaſt*

we

we can ſay of ſuch Diſcourſe, coming from a Principal *Agent* in this *New Alliance*; though at this Time only in the way of accidental Converſation.

5. Theſe Suſpicions grew ſtronger, upon the Appearance of the *Treaty* of *Commerce*: which, tho' ſigned at *Vienna* on the Day after the *Treaty* of *Peace*, yet, was not *communicated* to the Court of *Great Britain* by the *Emperor*'s Order; nor any *Notification* to this Hour, made, of ſuch a Treaty, either *before* or *ſince* the Signing it. The King's Miniſter at *Vienna* procured a *Copy* of it, as ſoon as it was printed there, and tranſmitted it to *London*. When this came to be read; and when it appeared in the plaineſt Light, that, by the Expreſs Words of it, ſuch *Alterations* were made in the *Commerce* of *Europe*, as muſt begin in the Ruine of our *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trade, and end in that of all the other valuable Branches of our Commerce: What could the Court of *Great Britain* conclude from ſuch a *Treaty*, but that even This, bad as it is, is not all; that there muſt be ſomething yet unknown to put in the *Balance*, on the Side of *Spain*, for all theſe unparalleled Advantages given, againſt the expreſs Words of *former Treaties*, to the *Emperor* and his *Subjects*; and that *They*, who were capable of entring into ſuch *Articles* as theſe, which now appear'd, could not hope to ſucceed in them, without *other Articles*, and *another Treaty*, ſtill kept in Darkneſs, till the proper Time of producing it ſhould come?

6. About

6. About the End of *July*, or the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the D—— of *Wh——n* arrived at *Vienna*. The Court of *London* was not ignorant of his real Errand: nor of the Sum of Money he received, in his Journey, towards his Expences, from the Pretender's Friends. And tho' he diſguis'd his Deſign a little, when he firſt appear'd at *Vienna*; and pretended to his *Majeſty*'s Friends there, that his View was only to travel for a few Years, till the Memory of his Extravagancies at home might be a little effac'd, and his private Affairs in better order: yet, he quickly acted another Part in all his Converſation and Conduct. He ſoon grew *intimate* with *Ripperda*, with whom he had frequent Conferences, and from whom he was known to receive Money. He was admitted to the *Converſation* of the *principal Perſons* of the Court of *Vienna*. And during his whole Stay, both *He* and *Graham*, the *Pretender*'s Agent at *Vienna*, had a very particular Intimacy with the *Ruſſian Miniſter* at that Court. At firſt the Project was, that He was to return to *England*, and do great Exploits there. But when he himſelf began not to think *England* a very ſafe Place for one who had laid himſelf ſo open; the Deſign of his Return thither was laid aſide: and another Plan was then concerted, of ſending him to *Rome* to the Pretender, and from thence to *Spain*. And before he parted from *Vienna*, his *intimate* and Fellow-Labourer *Graham*, had long Con-

Conferences with a Perſon of great Importance at that *Court*: as he had *afterwards* ſeveral others. This *Conduct* of *Wh——n* at *Vienna*, and of ſo many conſiderable Perſons whilſt he was there, ſtill increaſed the Opinion, that the new *Alliance* could not be ſo innocent a Thing as the *publick Treaty* of *Peace*.

7. The ſmooth Language at *Madrid* was by this Time gradually abated, and at length quite changed. At the End of *June* 1725. the Court of *Spain* openly avowed the Acceptance of the *Emperor's Mediation* for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; but at the ſame Time made the uſual Profeſſions of Friendſhip for the *King* of *Great Britain*, and hoped that this *Acceptance* of that *Mediation*, would not offend him. Nor did this Court make any Scruple frankly now to own that the *Affair* of *Gibraltar* had been from the Beginning a principal Point, concerted between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. In Conſequence of this, about the Middle of *July* following, M. *Grimaldo*, by order of his Catholick Majeſty, wrote a Letter to his *Britannick Majeſty*'s Miniſter at *Madrid*; the Concluſion of which was very Peremptory: "That the Continuance of the Alli-
" ance and Commerce of *Great Britain* with
" *Spain*, depended upon his Majeſty's reſtoring
" *Gibraltar* forthwith." And the Language of this Court, from this Time, was of an inſulting Strain, with Regard even to the *King* himſelf, who was then at *Hanover*; and in Words, not very civil, to this Effect, " *Let him make*
" *haſte*

" *haſte home, and call his Parliament, and propoſe* " *the* Reſtitution *immediately.*" This *Alteration* in the *Language* of the *Court of Madrid*; this demanding *Gibraltar* in ſo peremptory a *Manner*, which *Britain* poſſeſſes by *Treaties* ſign'd by this *King* of *Spain* himſelf, gave another juſt Ground of Suſpicion of a *Secret Offenſive Treaty*, of a very pernicious Nature.

8. What confirm'd all theſe Suſpicions very much, was, the *Reception* of *Ripperda* at *Madrid*; of the *Man* who had been the Maker of the *Vienna Treaties*, and who had uſed *his Majeſty* in ſo inſolent and outragious a Manner. For, as *before* his coming thither, no Satisfaction was ever given at *Madrid*, upon Complaint made of theſe *Affronts* and *Threatnings*: ſo, *after* it, all *Honours*, *Profits*, and *Truſts*, were heap'd upon him, in a Degree hardly ever known.

And it was but reaſonable to conclude from hence, That, as the *Court of Spain* had verified one Part of his Publick Diſcourſes at *Vienna*, by demanding *Gibraltar*; ſo the aggrandizing and honouring him in ſo extravagant a Manner, without ſo much as the leaſt Diſavowal of his Behaviour, at *Vienna*, towards the King of *Great Britain*, was a ſort of Declaration, in Effect, that his whole Conduct, of which this was ſo remarkable a Part, was not only not diſpleaſing at *Madrid*; but perfectly agreeable to the *main Deſign*, and Tendency of the *new Alliance*,

be-

begun, conducted, and finish'd by this very Man at *Vienna*. And indeed, daring as *Ripperda* was, yet, it is hardly conceivable that he would have dared to have treated his *Britannick Majesty*, in that insolent Manner: had he not known it to be agreeable to the *Tenor* of the *New Alliance*; and been well assured he should be supported in it.

These were all *Suspicions*, or something stronger than *Suspicions*, built upon *Appearances* that could have no Interpretation put upon them; and could have no *Meaning*, nor *Consistency* in them; unless upon the *Supposition* of *another Treaty* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, besides *that* made publick to the World. But we can still carry this Matter from *Suspicion* to *Certainty*; For,

9. As there are Times and Seasons, when the Discovery of Secrets may be thought to be of such singular Use, as to countervail all the Inconveniencies of doing it: so it happened in this Case. *Ripperda*, now His *Catholick Majesty*'s Prime Minister at *Madrid*, thought it of the highest Importance to use all Means to prevent the Accession of the *Dutch* to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*. And when he saw that other Methods failed of this Effect upon the *Dutch Ambassador* there; he had recourse to those which he thought would terrify the *States*, in their present Situation, from all Thoughts of doing it. At the Beginning therefore of *February*, 1725-6. with the utmost Seriousness and Positiveness, he assured both the *Bri-*

tiſh and *Dutch* Miniſter at that Court, that there was a *ſecret offenſive Treaty* between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, in which They had obliged themſelves mutually to ſupport one another in their ſeveral Demands: And of this *Treaty* he told them *three* particular *Articles*. I. That the Emperor was to aſſiſt *Spain*, in the obtaining *Gibraltar*. II. That *Spain* was to ſupport the Emperor in his new *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Oſtend Company*. III. And the *Third* was an *Article*, to ſettle the *Quotas* of *Money* on one Side, and *Soldiers* on the other, for the Purpoſes of this *ſecret Treaty*. This was to influence the *Dutch* to judge that it would be in vain to endeavour to alter or unſettle that *Oſtend Trade*, which was ſo reſolved upon, and ſo guarded.

M. de Ripperda might have added another ſecret Engagement, into which the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had entered; *viz.* to undertake the placing the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to begin with that Enterprize, before they proceeded to the Execution of their further Projects for involving all *Europe* in War and Confuſion. Of this Engagement the Court of *Great Britain* received ſuch certain Intelligence from ſeveral Quarters; that it is no more to be doubted, than Theſe Particulars of the ſecret Offenſive Alliance, avowed and declared by *M. de Ripperda*.

M. de Ripperda's profeſs'd Diſcovery of a ſecret *Treaty*, was ſoon farther confirmed by what

what followed. An Account of this frank and open Diſcovery was immediately ſent to the *Court* of *Great Britain.* And, at the opening of the laſt Seſſion of *Parliament*, A Noble Perſon in an high Station, agreeably to that Regard he owed to his Country, and to the Satisfaction due to that *Auguſt Aſſembly*, of which He was a Member, publickly declared it, in the Houſe of *Lords*, as an undoubted Truth, and what *Ripperda* had own'd, That there was a ſecret *Offenſive* Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which contained *Articles* in it deſtructive of the Rights of *Britain*, both with Regard to its *Poſſeſſions* and its *Commerce* abroad. This poſitive and undiſguiſed Declaration in *Parliament*, made a great Noiſe without Doors. And, upon the Signification of this, to the Court of *Vienna*, The *Imperial Reſident* here was ordered to give Satisfaction to the *Britiſh* Court, upon this Subject. Accordingly, he came to ſome of His Majeſty's Miniſters, and read out of a Paper the Words which he ſaid were the Contents of the Article which His Maſter had enter'd into, relating to *Gibraltar* : The which implied, that his Maſter had engaged to uſe His good Offices for the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*. And this was ordered to be produced, as a full and ſatisfactory Proof that there was no ſuch Thing as a ſecret *Offenſive Alliance* between the two *New Allies*. One would think indeed, that no ſuch *Effect* could poſſibly have been intended by this Pro-

ceeding, or expected from it. For, as upon this Occaſion, it might have been naturally and juſtly expected, as a Thing abſolutely neceſſary to the Vindication of the Court of *Vienna*, that the *Imperial Reſident* here, ſhould have been order'd to have ſhewn likewiſe what followed immediately this Article; and indeed the Treaty it ſelf, of which it was a part: And as neither of theſe was ordered or ſuffered to be done; the Whole of this taken together, will prove the Truth of that very Imputation, which the Court of *Vienna* deſigned by this Step to vindicate itſelf from, as from ſomething unjuſtifiable and diſhonourable.

If from *Vienna*, we go back once again to *Madrid*, we ſhall find ſtill more *Evidences* of a *ſecret Treaty*. For juſt about the ſame time that *Ripperda* ſpake ſo openly to the two *Ambaſſadors*, the King of *Spain* himſelf wrote a Letter to the *States General* for the ſame Purpoſe of keeping them from acceeding to the Treaty of *Hanover*: which was read in the *Aſſembly* of the *States* of *Holland*, *Feb.* 8. *N. S.* 1725-6. In *this* He acquaints Them, That "He "ſtands obliged to aſſiſt his Imperial Majeſty, in "caſe of a War, or Inſult -- which He will per-"form --- making it a common Cauſe --- hold-"ing for Enemies Thoſe who ſhall be Enemies "of his *Imperial Majeſty*". All which, as denounced to the States, who had no uneaſineſs with the *Emperor*. but on account of the *Oſtend Company*, muſt regard only That; and can have

no

no Meaning but this, that, if the *Dutch* ſhould act, merely in their own Defence, and in ſupport of their own Rights, againſt that Company; His *Catholick Majeſty* had entered into an Engagement to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, and ſupport the *Oſtend* Company by Force, if needful: as it was explained by that King's *Miniſter* himſelf at the *Hague*, in a Declaration made by Him, "That "His Catholick Majeſty would look upon what-"ever ſhould be undertaken againſt the *Oſtend* "*Company*, as done againſt himſelf". This is an open owning of a Treaty, beſides That already *Publick*; and of an *Engagement* in it to ſupport the *Oſtend* Company by Force.

To proceed; When about two Months after the firſt Declaration made by *Ripperda*, it was repreſented at *Madrid* how much the Court of *Great Britain* was ſurprized at this open Diſcovery, made to the *Two Ambaſſadors*, *of a ſecret Offenſive Treaty*: No other Reply could be obtained, but, in general Words, That the *Court of Spain* ſtill deſired the Friendſhip of *Great Britain*; and that the Engagements enter'd into at *Vienna*, would not hinder this. Nor could any thing that was urged, move *that Court*, either to *own* this *ſecret Treaty*; or at all to *deny* it. Very ſoon after this, the two *Ambaſſadors* thought it proper to have a Conference with *Ripperda*; in which He began a little to ſhuffle, and to *interpret away* what He had ſaid of an *Offenſive Treaty*, by endeavouring to perſuade Them, That it was little more than a *Defenſive One*.

But

But being preſs'd by *Both*, who agreed in what He had before told them; and required peremptorily to anſwer, whether he had not declared to Them expreſly that there was a *ſecret* Offenſive Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, He anſwered, *That he had told them ſo*; and added, *that all he had told them was true.* And how indeed could he poſſibly deny it, ſince there was not a *Foreigner* of any Diſtinction at *Madrid*, who had not heard him, without Reſerve, declare the ſame about this *ſecret Offenſive Alliance*? And whom can we believe in ſuch a Caſe; if not a Prime Miniſter ſo often affirming a matter of Fact to ſo many; whilſt neither the *King* his *Maſter*, nor any of His other *Miniſters* at that time denied it; or at all look'd as if they had any Thoughts then of denying it?

And once more, when an Application was made at *Madrid*, from the *Britiſh Court*, with Relation particularly to the Part which *Spain* appeared now to take in the Affair of the *Oſtend Trade*; at firſt nothing was avowed, but an Obligation to uſe *Good Offices* for accommodating that Affair. But, when a *Propoſal* was offer'd, which the Court of *Spain* acknowledg'd to be a very *reaſonable* one; and when upon this it was urg'd, That, ſince This Propoſal was thought a *reaſonable* One; if the Imperial Court ſhould refuſe to liſten to it; This would be a *juſt Reaſon* why *Spain* ſhould not ſupport the *Emperor* any farther in what *Spain* it ſelf judg'd to be unreaſon-

reaſonable; It was anſwered "This could "not be allowed: For *Spain* muſt ſtand by its "*Engagements* with the Emperor". This was a plain Acknowledgment of farther *Engagements*, and of *another* Sort, than thoſe of a *Friendly Accommodation*; and, by juſt Conſequence, of a *ſecret Offenſive Treaty*. For ſuch Engagements muſt be enter'd into by *Treaty*; and this *Treaty* muſt be diſtinct from *That* already *publiſhed*, which does not contain them; and it muſt be an *Offenſive* Treaty, becauſe it is in ſupport of an Invaſion made upon the *Rights* of others; and in oppoſition to Thoſe who act only in *defenſe* of thoſe Rights founded upon the moſt ſolemn Treaties.

After all this, it is too late for the *Court* of *Spain* to ſink the Credit of this *Diſcovery* made by *Ripperda* to the two Ambaſſadors; or to think of deſtroying the Credibility of what this Court it ſelf has given Teſtimony to. All the *Circumſtances* of this Affair, as I have related them, make it too plain to be *now* evaded: And all who know any thing of *Publick Affairs*, will look upon what I have now produced, as a poſitive and *convincing Evidence* of what before was only a ſtrong *Suſpicion*.

This therefore, we are too ſure of; That the now publick *Treaty* of *Peace*, made at *Vienna*, was it ſelf enter'd into without the leaſt Provocation from the *Mediators*; in contradiction to an *Expreſs Article* of the *Quadruple Alliance*, appointing this *Mediation* alone for the adjuſting

ing remaining Differences; cover'd all the time at *Madrid* with the ſmootheſt Language, and the pretended earneſt Deſire of proceeding ſtill at *Cambray*; and made up of Articles ſo diſhonourable to *Spain*, that nothing can account for them, but the *Suppoſition* of another, and this an *Offenſive Treaty*, yet private: That this is not only *Suppoſition* upon *Conjecture*; but is proved to Us, by Arguments too ſtrong to be denied; the repeated Affirmation of *Him* who was made Prime *Miniſter of Spain* after he had made this *Treaty*; the Acknowledgments in Effect of the Two Courts themſelves of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, with regard to *Gibraltar*, and the *Oſtend Trade*; and the Order from *Vienna* for producing at *London* an *Article* of a *Treaty*, in ſuch Words and in ſuch a manner, as makes it impoſſible to doubt of the Reality of it.

We will now ſee what Light we can get into the Nature of This ſo certain *Offenſive Alliance*; and the other *Treaties* between the *Emperor* and *Spain:* and in what manner *We* Our ſelves are likely to be affected by *Them*; with regard to, the great and only Security of all Our other good things, the preſent *Proteſtant Royal Family*; with regard to the Poſſeſſions of *Great Britain* in *Spain*; with regard to the ſettled Rights and Privileges of the Nation in *Trade* and *Commerce*; and indeed, in conſequence of theſe, with regard to our being, or not being, at all, a Nation worth exiſting. If after this, we extend

extend our View farther, We ſhall ſee what is likely to be the Fate of Europe; and what will become of the Balance of Power, if the main Deſigns projected in this late Alliance at *Vienna*, ſhould be permitted to take effect. This Enquiry is the only way to our making a true Judgment of the *Steps* taken by *Britain*, and the Powers in Alliance with it. And when we have done this, —— *Let them that are Blind, be Blind ſtill.*

I. The *firſt* Enquiry which will offer it ſelf, upon this occaſion, to the Mind of every True *Britton*, will ariſe from the Intereſt We all have, in the preſervation of our preſent *Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment*; and our *concern* to find out how *This* is already, or *will* probably be, affected by this *New Alliance.*

I know very well how eaſy and how common it is, to laugh at the Name of the *Pretender*, whenever it is mentioned upon ſuch Occaſions; as a Political *Bugbear*, or *Scare-crow*; a mere Word of Allarm; or a Puppet to be play'd by *Stateſmen* at their Pleaſure, and whenever their Deſigns require it. But it would be very unfortunate for *Great Britain*, and end in the total Ruine of *Us* and our *Poſterity*; if Thoſe who are at the Helm, ſhould ſuffer themſelves, at the Pleaſure of ſuch as wiſh them no good, to be laugh'd out of that Care and Wakefulneſs which their *King* and their *Country* require of

them. There is not a Day, nor an Hour, in which the neceſſity of Attention to this great Point, does not appear: Nor is there, I fear, any *Criſis* of Affairs in *Europe* poſſible, at this time, without *This* bearing a great part in it. And therefore, when a Breach with a *Proteſtant* King of *Great Britain*, who loves his *Subjects* too honeſtly to give up their greateſt Concerns to the Demands of any Power upon Earth, is thought convenient and uſeful; no one can help concluding, from the known Principles of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that the Moment They reſolved upon entring into an *Alliance* ſo injurious to his *Britannick Majeſty*, and ſo deſtructive to the Intereſts of *Britain*: the ſame Moment another Reſolution muſt alſo be taken: the Reſolution of giving His *Majeſty* all the uneaſineſs they could, even in his higheſt Rights; and either forcing Him by this means to *Their* Terms; or preparing the way for a *King* of *Britain* after their own Hearts, from whom they may expect all Submiſſion and Compliance. But this is only a probable Argument. Let us come now to *Facts*.

I have already mentioned ſome Preliminaries; the Journey of *Wh——n* to *Vienna*, and his Conduct and Intrigues and Encouragements there; as well as *Ripperda*'s *threatning King George* with the *Pretender*, before he left *Vien-*

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na. But afterwards the *Appearances* of a *ſettled Deſign* againſt His *Majeſty* and His *Royal Family*, ſoon began to thicken apace; and the *Intelligences* about it to be very poſitive, from all the Friends of *Great Britain*, at almoſt every Court of *Europe.*

In the *firſt* Place, according to what had been before concerted at *Vienna*, the D--- of *Wh——n*, with Letters Recommendatory from young *Ripperda*, went for *Rome*, directly to the *Spaniſh Miniſter* reſiding there. By this Miniſter, he was introduced to the *Pretender.* In the *Pretender*'s Houſe, he was kept cloſe ſhut up for *Six Days*; to hide, if poſſible, his being there: and, after very cloſe Conference, was poſted away to *Madrid*, where old *Ripperda*, his great and intimate Friend, was now in high Credit and Honour.

Thither he came with *Credentials* from the *Pretender*; and, as a publick Mark of Confidence in him, adorn'd with a Garter, and a new Title; and was very kindly entertain'd at *Madrid*, with theſe open Diſtinctions of Treaſon and Perjury upon him. And tho' it was often ſaid, and promiſed and ſworn to, by *Ripperda*, that this *New Agent* ſhould be ſent away in *twenty four Hours time*; and as ſtrongly ſworn to, that he never admitted him, nor ever would, into his Company; yet he ſtill remain'd at *Ma-*

drid without any Mark of diſpleaſure; and was known to be frequently with *Ripperda* himſelf in cloſe Conference. His intimacy with Count *Koningſec*, the *Imperial* Miniſter at *Madrid*, and the freedom of his Viſits to him, were very remarkable, at a time when he profeſs'd himſelf to come into *Spain* on no other Errand but the *Pretender*'s Service; and this, without reſerve to the *Engliſh* themſelves at *Madrid*, who were in the Friendſhip, and even in the Service, of the Crown of *Britain*. This made it certain, that the buſineſs of theſe frequent Meetings with Perſons of Character, both in the *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Service, could be no other, than that which brought him to *Madrid*. At the ſame time the late Duke of *Ormond* was admitted to frequent *Audiences* at *Court*: in which no one could think that the Intereſts of his Maſter were forgot, On the contrary, Now it was that ſeveral Projects for the Execution of what was the ſole End of *Wh——n*'s Journey to *Madrid*, were laid before the *Court* of *Spain*, to be weighed and conſidered in their ſeveral Probabilities.

What can the greateſt Well-wiſher to this *New Alliance* ſay, in Apology for this Conduct of the *Court* of *Spain*; as well theſe Audiences given now to the late Duke of *Ormond*, as the Reception the D---- of *Wh——n* was favour'd with, at a time when he came directly com-

commiſſion'd by the *Pretender*; and never attempted to hide the full intent of his Journey? What can any one ſay, who will but read the *ſixth* Article of the Peace of *Utrecht*? in which the *Catholick King doth Promiſe, as well in his own Name, as in that of his Heirs and Succeſſors, that they will not at any time diſturb or moleſt the* Queen, *her Heirs and Succeſſors of the Proteſtant Line, being in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of* Great Britain *and the Dominions Subject thereunto; neither will the aforeſaid Catholick King, or any of his Succeſſors, give at any time* any Aid, Succour, Favour *or Counſel, directly or indirectly, to any Perſon or Perſons, who on any Cauſe or Pretence ſhould hereafter endeavour to oppoſe the ſaid Succeſſion by open War, or by any Conſpiracies againſt ſuch Prince and Princes, poſſeſſing the Throne of* Great Britain, *by virtue of the Acts of Parliament made there.* And, ſince his *preſent Majeſty* came to the Throne, in *Art* 5. of the *Quadruple Alliance* (to which *Quadruple Alliance* the preſent King of *Spain* acceeded, before the opening of the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*) His Catholick Majeſty (as the Emperor had done before) *binds himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to maintain and guaranty the Succeſſion in the Kingdom of* Great Britain, *as eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of his Britannick Majeſty now reigning;*

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as likewiſe to defend all the Dominions and Provinces poſſeſſed by his Majeſty; and not to give and grant any Protection or Refuge, to the Pretender (there deſcribed) *or his Deſcendents, nor any Succour, Counſel, or Aſſiſtance whatſoever, directly or indirectly.* And to *obſerve the ſame* [*i. e.* not to give *Reception*, Succour, *&c.*] *with regard to thoſe who may be Order'd or Commiſſion'd by the ſaid Perſon* [*the Pretender*] *to diſturb the Government of his Britannick Majeſty, or the Tranquillity of his Kingdoms*, &c. Let but the late and preſent Conduct of the Court of *Spain* be compared with theſe expreſs Stipulations: and every Reader may be left to make his own Inferences from ſuch a Compariſon. To return,

The Evil I was ſpeaking of, was not to reſt in Words and Schemes: nor were the Projects I have mentioned, only propoſed in *Theory*. Preparations were actually made in *Spain*, to put the determin'd Purpoſe in Execution : Of which Preparations I will enumerate certain Particulars that could not be concealed.

In *February* 1725-6, a Reſolution was taken to ſend a Body of Troops conſiſting of 12000 Men, to the Coaſts of *Galicia* and *Biſcay*. There were at that Time at *Cadiz* ſeveral *Spaniſh* Ships that were plainly deſign'd for an Imbarkation : Two of them were of 70 Guns, one of 64, one of 56, one of 26, and one of 24 ; and all victuall'd for a Hundred

Hundred Days. And at *Cadiz*, it *now* was, that 4800 Arms were known to have been bought, and deſtin'd to the *Pretender*'s Service. His *Majeſty*'s Miniſter at *Madrid* did indeed, upon the Diſcovery made to Him of the Place where they lay in Pawn for a certain Sum, take effectual Care, by firſt laying down that Sum, and afterwards paying their whole Price, to keep them out of the Hands of the firſt Purchaſers, who earneſtly ſollicited to have them, and frequently offer'd the Money which had been lent on them. For he knew from undoubted Intelligence, the Purpoſe They were intended for. Beſides theſe *Ships* at *Cadiz*; there were likewiſe then in *Spain*, three *Ruſſian* Men of War, one of 64 Guns, and the other two of about 40 Guns each, equipp'd ſome time before from *Petersbourg*, which came to *Cadiz* in the Beginning of *Winter* 1725, to carry on the Pretence of Merchandize; but in *December* went from thence to St. *Andero*, and lay there the three following Months.

As to theſe three Ships, the Court of *Great Britain*, ſome time after they ſailed from *Petersbourg*, made a full Diſcovery, by Letters from the *Pretender*'s Agent there, and others concerned in this Tranſaction, which fell into their Hands; that they had been fitted out at the Expence of the *Pretender*'s Friends, with the Privity of the *Court* of *Petersbourg*, and ſent to

Spain

Spain to be employed in an Expedition for the *Pretender*'s Service; and that five more had been contracted for, and were deſign'd to follow. And accordingly, at the Time of their paſſing the *Sound*, ſo very particular a Joy was expreſs'd at *Stockholm*, by a certain *Party* there, that it could not but be remark'd by the Friends of *Great Britain* at that place. And in their Paſſage, when they lay in the North of *Scotland*, and afterwards were driven by Streſs of Weather into *Ireland*; his Majeſty's Officers belonging to the Cuſtoms, who, according to their Duty went on Board, found all the Symptoms of Enmity to his *Majeſty*; all poſſible Tokens of a warlike Deſign; and all the Fears of a Diſcovery that could ſhew themſelves. And *after* theſe Ships were ſafe in *Spain*, it was given out by one of the Greateſt Men in the Court of *Ruſſia*, and written by another Great Man, from his Mouth, to *Stockholm*, in order to influence the *Swedes*, "That the Alliance of *Britain* and *France* "would be of the leſs Moment; ſince the *Im*- "*perial Court*, and the *Pretender*'s Meaſures in "*Spain* would now find thoſe two Powers full "Employment." And it was likewiſe *after* the ſafe arrival of theſe *Ruſſian* Ships at St. *Andero*, and during there ſtay there, that the Motions and Projects of the *Pretender*'s Friends

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grew more and more Vigorous in *Spain*. Not only the late Duke of *Ormond* admitted to frequent Audiences at this Juncture, but one *Connock*, the *Pretender*'s conſtant Miniſter at *Madrid*, hardly ever out of *Ripperda*'s Houſe; and one *Pomphilly*, lately come from *England*, offering Money to all the *Broken Officers* He could meet with at *Madrid*; (as ſeveral of them freely affirm'd, and particularly a *Swiſs Proteſtant*, One of thoſe to whom the Offer was made) and this profeſſedly upon a Deſign then on foot in favour of the *Pretender*.

From the Mention of theſe particular Preparations, I paſs on to ſhew what Uſe was intended to be made of the whole. So early as in *February* 1725-6, 12000 Men (as has been ſaid above) were deſigned to be ſent to the Coaſts of *Galicia* and *Piſcay*, the firſt Project of the Court of *Madrid* being to make an Attempt on his Majeſty's Dominions from thoſe Parts. But as ſuch a Body of Troops could not at that Juncture march thither, without giving an Alarm; the Pretence for it, made uſe of by the Court of *Spain*, was, that they had certain Intelligence of a Reſolution taken by the Court of *Great Britain* to land a Number of Troops in that Part of the Country; who were to burn and deſtroy all before them, and even the Shipping in all the Harbours.

Under the Cover of this pretended Intelligence, which no one in *England* could poſſibly give, and which no one at *Madrid* could really believe, the March of theſe Forces was ordered. But his Majeſty's Miniſter at *Madrid* repreſenting to the Duke of *Ripperda* (who was then Prime Miniſter, and in the higheſt Degree of Truſt and Confidence with the King his Maſter,) that ſuch Intelligence could have no Foundation, and even that ſuch a Deſign from *England* was impoſſible ; *Ripperda* promiſed the March of thoſe Troops ſhould be forborn, till a Declaration from the *Britiſh* Court, to the Purpoſe of what Mr. *Stanhope* had ſaid, could be obtained. But the true Reaſon of delaying this March, was, that ſome of the Pretender's Friends had repreſented to the Court of *Spain*, that the ſending of 12000 Men to *Galicia* and *Biſcay*, without any Colour of Neceſſity for them, in a Country where there never uſed to be above two or three Battallions, would give ſuch an Alarm to *England* as would inevitably put us upon our Guard ; and therefore it would be more eligible to order that Body of Troops to *Navarre*, on a very natural Pretext of ſecuring that Frontier againſt *France* ; but when there, they would be ſo near *Gupiuſcoa*, that they might be ready to imbark, on very ſhort Notice, in Tranſports

ſports to be provided at a Port of that Province; and be convoyed from thence by a number of Men of War, of which thoſe three *Muſcovite* Ships were to be Part. They propoſed at the ſame time, that ſome few Ships ſhould be ſent with Arms from *Cadiz* directly to *Scotland*; and a Body of 6000 Men kept ready by the Emperour at *Oſtend*.

But the Court of *Spain*, being ſoon after perfectly informed, that ſuch vigorous Reſolutions were taken, and ſuch Preparations and Diſpoſitions made, by *Great Britain*, that it was in vain for them to hope for any Succeſs at that Time from ſuch an Attempt; they ſuſpended for the preſent the putting this Deſign into Execution; the rather, finding themſelves obliged to ſend Part of their Ships from *Cadiz* and St. *Andero* to the *Weſt-Indies*: And the *Muſcovite* Ships returned home.

Thus in fact ſtood the *Caſe*, in favour of the *Pretender*, at the Court of *Madrid*, before the *Vigorous Meaſures* of *Great Britain* alter'd it. And, who that conſiders the whole of this, will be moved by any the ſtrongeſt *Verbal Aſſeverations* of that *Court*, againſt ſuch Facts; when it is remember'd, That this whole Scene of the *New Alliance*, which is acknowledged to be framed againſt our *Trade*, and our Right to *Gibraltar*, was be-

gun and carried on to perfection, under the Colour of the Higheſt Regards to his *Majeſty*; and accompanied all along with the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetick Aſſurances of *Friendſhip?*

Eſpecially, if we add here, what ought to allarm the *Britiſh Court*, and was ſufficient itſelf to juſtify All their *Earlieſt Precautions* and *Preparations*; *viz.* That ſoon after the publiſhing the *Vienna-Treaties* of *Peace* and *Commerce*, They had poſitive Intelligence; and Intelligence from more than one Perſon; and ſuch as could be entirely depended on; That one Expreſs Article of this *Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain* contain'd an Obligation in *Favour of the* Pretender; and a Stipulation to make the Attempt for Him in *England*, before opening the War in any other Parts. And by as undoubted Intelligence it was added, That the *Pretender*, in return, had ſince obliged himſelf to reſtore *Gibraltar* and Port *Mahon* to the *Crown* of *Spain*; to be Guarantee of the Emperor's *Oſtend-Trade*; and lay open the Commerce, in our *Plantations* abroad, to *Their* Ships, with the ſame Privileges as the *Engliſh* themſelves enjoy. And for this *Article*, enter'd into by the *Emperor* with the King of *Spain*, for the Service of the *Pretender*, there is as Certain Evidence, as of the Being of a *Secret Treaty*: of which I cannot think it poſſible

poſſible to doubt, after what has been, and will be, ſaid upon the *Articles* of *Gibraltar*, and the *Oſtend-Trade*.

This brings our Thoughts to the Court of *Vienna*: For *This Article* touches the *Imperial Court*, equally with *That* of *Spain*; and proves the *Pretender*'s Cauſe, to be the Concern of the *Former*, as truly as of the *Latter*; and to be made ſo by an expreſs *Stipulation* in a *Treaty*. And this alone is *Evidence* enough of the Worſt *Diſpoſition* towards a *King*, and a *Nation*, which have not deſerved ſuch a Return from *Vienna*. For, *This* ſingle Point being certain; it will be of *ſmall* Importance, to alledge the Conduct of this Court in not giving ſuch publick Tokens of *this* Diſpoſition, in *Fact*; as the *Other* has done: which will only ſhew a cautious *Prudence* in the *Execution*, but not at all any *Innocence*, or *Ignorance*, of ſuch *Deſigns*. The *Article* alone demonſtrates the *Deſign*: and that is ſufficient.

But indeed, if, *after* this, We conſider the moſt *publick* Parts of the late Conduct of the *Imperial Court* towards this Nation; we cannot conclude leſs than This, That there is little Deſire or Thought *there*, of keeping any Terms with us, in any reſpect: I mean, that part of Conduct, which regards *our Trade*, not only by conſequence,

quence, but directly and immediately. At *Oſtend*, and in the *Netherlands*, the preſent and future Fatal *Effects* of the *New* Eſtabliſhment are too viſible; at the ſame *Oſtend*, which was conquered and preſerved by *our Arms* and thoſe of the *Dutch*. In *Sicily*, reſcued from the *Spaniard* by our *Fleet*, as well as ſecured to the *Emperor*, by the good Offices of our King in the Treaty of *London*; In the ſame *Sicily*, the kindneſs was ſoon returned by a *prohibition* of all our *Woollen Manufactures*; and this *prohibition* not yet removed, but only *ſuſpended* for a while, upon the ſtrongeſt *Repreſentations* and the plaineſt Evidence, that this Proceeding was againſt the *Faith* of *Treaties*, which made the *Britiſh Privileges* there, exactly the ſame, as in all other *Dominions* of *Spain*, to which it once belonged: Thoſe ſame *Treaties*, under which the *Duke* of *Savoy*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, took poſſeſſion of this *Kingdom* of *Sicily*; and under *which* the preſent *Emperor* took it after him. And lately, in the Auſtrian *Dominions* in *Germany*, preſerved from Ruine by *the Arms* and Money of Us and our Allies, moſt Species of our *Manufactures* are prohibited. So that in every Inch of Ground His *Imperial Majeſty* is poſſeſſed of; even in thoſe Countries gained by our Aſſiſtance, and where He is as cloſely bound by particular Treaties as the moſt ſolemn and repeated Engagements

can

can bind him; In all, He has acted the same part towards Us, in one of our tenderest Concerns. And if the *Imperial Court* be resolved to go on in these Paths; This alone must determine them to espouse the *Pretender*'s Interest: as They are fully assured of His present Majesty's firm Resolution never tamely to give up the Rights and Privileges of this Nation, in so essential a Point as that of Trade.

But I have done: and I am sure, have said enough upon this *first Point*, to put it beyond all Doubt, that this *New Alliance* at *Vienna* contains in it, and will certainly bring after it, if not vigorously opposed, the most unspeakable Evil to *Great Britain*; by engaging, and attempting, to subvert our present happy Establishment.

II. I will now say a Word or two about the Possessions of *Great Britain* within the *Spanish* Dominions; and how They must be affected by this *new Alliance*. These are *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; won by our Arms in lawful War; ascertained to us as our Property by all the Parties concerned in that War; and secured to us by all the Solemnity of Alliances, and Treaties, and particularly by this present *King* of *Spain* himself, in two express Articles of the *Treaty* of *Peace* signed at *Utrecht*, 1713. For, of the great *Importance* especially of *One* of *them* (I mean *Gibraltar*) I would not be thought to

to ſpeak as any the leaſt *Motive* to a juſt and brave People to value and preſerve it, were not the Poſſeſſion of it founded upon the ſtricteſt Right and the moſt undeniable Maxims of Political and National Juſtice. But when that *Importance*, to which *Spain* gives teſtimony by the Eagerneſs diſcovered to wreſt it out of our Hands, is added to the *Right* of *Poſſeſſion*: No one amongſt us, who is a true Lover of his Country, can be eaſy under the Proſpect of an *Alliance*, which opened it ſelf to *Great Britain*, with the Civil Complement from *Spain* of demanding *Gibraltar* immediately, as the Condition of the Continuance of a Friendſhip, which cannot be violated without the Breach of all Faith and Truſt in *Treaties*; and with the *Emperor*'s *Obligation*, to uſe His kind Help to bring *Britain* to a Compliance with that *Demand*. I have already ſpoke of this *Demand*, and this *Obligation*, as certain Evidences of a *ſecret Offenſive Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. I now ſpeak of this *mutual Engagement* between theſe two Powers, for the Recovery of *Gibraltar*, as *one* of the unjuſt and pernicious Conditions of their new Alliance. And, after I have before ſo plainly proved, That this *Engagement* makes one main part of it; not only from *Ripperda*'s repeated Affirmation both at *Vienna* and at *Madrid*;

Madrid; but from the peremptory Language uſed at *Madrid* after this *Alliance* at *Vienna*; and from the Teſtimony from *Vienna* added to This, that there was an *Expreſs Article* containing the Emperor's Stipulation upon this Head; and this *Teſtimony* given at *London*, by order of the Imperial Court, in a very remarkable manner. After the Proof of this Fact, I need ſay no more than that, if the Deſigns of this *Alliance* be not vigorouſly oppoſed and effectually broke, the firſt unwelcome Evil to *Great Britain* muſt be, To ſee a place of the utmoſt Importance to us, if we will truſt the Confeſſion both of *Friends* and *Enemies*, wreſted from us by *Force* (if it be poſſible) unleſs we will baſely yield it up to the importunity of Thoſe who ask it; and a Place, which is our Honour, and our Strength abroad; a great *Defence* and *Advantage* to our extended *Navigation*; and a *Convenience* to our Ships of all ſorts, not to be equalled by any other Place, that can be offered by that *Crown*, which would deprive us of it.

III. But indeed this *Place*, could it be preſerved to us by all our Strength and Prudence, would be of no Importance to us hereafter; if the *other* Schemes of This *new Alliance* ſtand good. It will be a ſmall Comfort to *Great Britain*, and little better than a *Ridi-*

cule, to have in poſſeſſion ſo great a Convenience to *Shipping* and *Trade*, as *Gibraltar* is; if we are to be ſtripped of that *Trade* it ſelf, and to be reduced to the Condition of having little or no Occaſion for any *Shipping* at all. And yet, This I think muſt be the Caſe with us, if the *Projects* of this *new Union* are ſuffered quietly to ſucceed. For our *Trade* it ſelf, that Ornament and ſupport of *Great Britain*, muſt by Degrees be ſo affected, in almoſt every Branch of it, that it cannot but naturally leſſen, Flag, and Dye, juſt in Proportion as this *new Alliance* gains Strength and flouriſhes. There can be little Hope, if this Conjunction proceeds much farther, of obtaining any Redreſs for the many injuries in Commerce, already received; or of preventing many more, from the Side of *Spain*: and much leſs, if poſſible, of keeping the Deſigns at *Oſtend* from having Effect; which, taken with all their extended ill conſequences towards almoſt all the Branches of our *Trade*, are enough to awaken all *Britons*, who have been uſed to eſteem their *Commerce*, as their darling Good: —— a Good, to the ſupport and increaſe of which, all their *Treaties* and *Alliances* have for many Years paſt ſolely tended; and in Compariſon of which they have deſpiſed, and left to Others the *Acquiſition* of *Tracts* of Land, and *Territories*

ries to enlarge Dominion and Power. Hitherto, We have always ſhewed our ſelves ſenſible that *Trade* was our proper Life; and the Encouragement of this, upon an honourable Bottom, the proper Nouriſhment of that Life. Every Inſtance of Conduct in any in Power at Home, which has but ſeem'd to ſhake it a little, or to touch it, at a Diſtance, in an unkindly Manner, has been found to be ſo reſented, as to diſunite the greateſt Friends; and at once to unite thoſe of different Views amongſt us, in a vigorous Oppoſition to it. And every Step, in order to defend and promote it, has been received with univerſal Applauſe; and reconciled and enlarg'd the Affections of Men to ſuch Benefactors. And with regard to *Foreign Nations*; every hurt, any of them do to our *Commerce*; every Breach into the Fences and Privileges with which that is guarded and enrich'd; every Shadow of a Tendency this way; has always been view'd here, as the higheſt of all Injuries to this Nation, and the natural Subject for the genuine and juſt Reſentment of every true *Briton*. And if we are not dead to all this Senſe; if we ſtill retain the proper Life and Vigor of *Britons*; that is, of a Nation adorn'd and ſupported by the moſt extended Commerce that can be boaſted of by any People: What can we think of an Alliance between two powerful Princes, form'd, againſt the plain Stipulations of

Treaties, in order to deprive us of our Glory, our Riches, our Strength, which depend all upon our *Trade*; and afterwards, to defend and preſerve Themſelves in their Acquiſitions of our Rights?

Theſe are not Words without a Meaning; no Fears merely of Imagination ſet on Work by preſent Reſentment: But real, Subſtantial, and undeniable. For, if the Union of theſe two Powers proceeds upon the preſent Foot; and be not thoroughly broken in its terrible Parts; let any one ſay, what hope can remain of any Bounds to be ſet to the Injuries our Trade has felt, and muſt feel? Will thoſe *Depredations* and *Hoſtilities*, committed in the *Weſt Indies* by the *Spaniards*, under pretence of their Right to guard againſt *Clandeſtine* Trade; Thoſe Violences, by which the whole Commerce of *Jamaica* has been well nigh deſtroyed, and the Trade of that Iſland reduced to a miſerable Condition, be now redreſs'd? Or, will the Remonſtrances of theſe Grievances, which have had no Effect *before* the Treaties of *Vienna*; now, *after* ſuch *Treaties* are made, meet with any better Reception at *Madrid*; and procure Us a more favourable Anſwer? Will any Complaints, or Repreſentations, in ſupport of the acknowledg'd Rights of the *South-Sea-Company*, obtain now ſo much as a Hearing at the Court of *Spain*; when the

Strength

Strength of ſuch an *Alliance* is added to the former Diſinclination towards any Redreſs; and is ſuffered by the other Powers of *Europe* to exert itſelf? Or, will They, who have been hitherto unmoved by *Right* and *Juſtice*, at length *voluntarily* liſten to their Voices? Or, will the Court of *Vienna*, which has ſtood out, *before* this Alliance, againſt all Sollicitations, relinquiſh the *Pretenſions* at *Oſtend*, and act agreeably to *former Treaties* in the Affair of *Commerce*; now *after* the Riches of *Spain* are to come in, to the Aid of former Reſolutions?

So far from this, that it is an expreſs *Article*, ſtipulated in this *New Alliance*, that, as the *Emperor* is to aſſiſt *Spain* in the re-gaining of *Gibraltar*; ſo is *Spain* obliged to ſupport the *Emperor* in his *Oſtend Company*, and his *Commerce*.

This Article, relating to the *Oſtend Company*, as part of a *Secret Offenſive Alliance*, (as I have before ſhewn) was more than once not only acknowledg'd, but boaſted of, to the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at *Madrid*, by *Ripperda*, when he was prime Miniſter in *Spain*. But we have not only this Evidence. For, as in the Affair of *Gibraltar*, the *Emperor* himſelf, by producing an *Article* of a Treaty, gave Teſtimony to his having enter'd into *Engagements* relating to that Place; ſo, his *Catholick Majeſty* has not ſcrupled to give his own Teſtimony, that, by this

New

New Alliance, He has entered into Engagements to ſupport the *Emperor* in his Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend Company*; not only by the Language of his Court at *Madrid*; but by what he wrote himſelf, and ordered his *Miniſter* at the *Hague*, to denounce, by way of Threatning, to the *States General*, upon this Subject: of which I have given an Account before. And beſides all this, it is enough to look upon the *Publick Treaty* of Commerce ſign'd at *Vienna May* 1ſt, 1725. to be ſatisfied, that ſuch Privileges in *Commerce* are granted, by *Spain*, to the *Emperor*'s Subjects, as are contrary to many former *Treaties*, and to the moſt manifeſt *Rights* of *other Nations* founded upon thoſe Treaties.

I ſhall not enter minutely into all the Particulars which are of *Importance*, upon this Head. The *Subject* has been ſo plainly ſtated, and even exhauſted, before the World already, that there can be no need of any Thing farther, than to refer thoſe, who have not yet look'd into the Depth of this Affair, to the ſeveral *Memorials* of the *States General*, and of thoſe commiſſion'd by Them, upon this Occaſion; particularly thoſe which were printed here, in the *Daily Courants* of *Dec.* 16. 1725. *Jan.* 19. 25. *Feb.* 5. 8. 12. and 14. 1725-6. in which all the Pretences of their Enemies are compleatly and plainly anſwered; and the *Matter* placed in the moſt evident Light.

I will only juſt ſtate the *Dates* and *Intent* of the Treaties, relating to the *Commerce* moſt immediately affected by the new *Oſtend Company*; and add a Word or two about the farther Conſequences of it.

So long ago as the Year 1609, the *King* of *Spain*, by the Truce then made with the *United Provinces*, granted them their firſt Privileges of *Trade* in the *Eaſt Indies*; by which the *Dutch Eaſt India* Company has been from that time in Poſſeſſion of their Commerce in thoſe Parts. But theſe Privileges wanted *Confirmation*: and this they fully obtain'd from the Crown of *Spain*, after long and mature deliberation, at the *Treaty* of *Munſter* in the Year 1648. by which, the Crown of *Spain* not only granted the *Hollanders* theſe Privileges; but engag'd *itſelf*, to *maintain and protect them, in the Enjoyment of theſe Privileges.* In this *Treaty* the Bounds were ſet to the ſeveral Pretenſions of the *Dutch* and *Caſtillans* in the *Eaſt Indies*; and the *Limits* of their diſtinct *Navigation* and *Commerce* there, exactly fix'd: and not only all other Subjects of *Spain* were totally excluded from the *Eaſt Indies*; but the *Caſtillans* themſelves were for ever *excluded* from all *Commerce* and *Navigation* within the *Limits* of the *Hollanders*; as *Theſe* were likewiſe prohibited from entring into thoſe of the *Caſtillans.*

And

And, before this, the abſolute *excluſion* of all the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, from all Trade or Commerce in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt Indies*, was in the Year 1598. made an expreſs *Article* in the Act of *Ceſſion* of the *Low-Countries* by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, upon the Marriage of his Daughter *Iſabella* to the *Arch-Duke Albert*: The *Eighth* Article of which *Ceſſion* is this, That "The *Arch-Duke* and *Arch-Dutcheſs* "themſelves, and their Succeſſors, ſhall not exer- "ciſe any Navigation, and Commerce in the *Eaſt* "and *Weſt Indies*, under the Penalty of being de- "prived of thoſe Provinces; and if any of their "*Subjects* ſhall act contrary to this, they ſhall be "puniſhed with Rigour, in ſome Caſes even with "Death itſelf, *&c.*' Neither was *this* at that time at all *complain'd* of, by the States of thoſe *Low-Countries*, even when ſeveral other *Conditions* of the Reception of thoſe new *Governours* were remonſtrated againſt, as ſo many Grievances upon the People of thoſe Provinces. Neither was there afterward any *Proteſt* made by any Perſons concerned, againſt this *Excluſion*, whilſt the King of *Spain* was concluding the Treaty of *Munſter* with the *United Provinces*. This ſhews that the preſent Complaint of the Hardſhip of ſuch *Excluſion* is *new* and *artificial*; and comes many Years too late, as it comes after *ſolemn Treaties* made, and renewed, in expreſs Confirmation of this *Excluſion*.

To

To proceed; After the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, an Accident happened, which plainly ſhewed how the *Fifth* Article of that *Treaty* was underſtood, not only by the *Dutch*, but by *Spain* alſo. One *Baſtien Brower*, a Subject of *Spain*, either of *Brabant*, or of *Flanders*, had obtained a *Permiſſion* from the *King* of *Spain*, to go to the *Coaſts* of *China*, where he carried on a very profitable Trade. When this came to the Knowledge of the *High-Council* in *India*, belonging to the *Dutch-Eaſt-India* Company, they made a ſolemn *Reſolution* immediately, and ſent it as an Order to the Commanders of all their Ships, and to all their Subjects, *to take this Man Priſoner*; and if he defended himſelf, to uſe *force* againſt him. This had its effect. The Man never appeared any more to give them farther Trouble. Other *Subjects* of *Spain* deſiſted from all ſuch Voyages. The Crown of *Spain* never *complained* of this *Conduct*; and by this Silence plainly gave Teſtimony to the Juſtice of that *Reſolution*, as founded upon the *Treaty* of *Munſter*.

In the Year 1667, by a Treaty between *Britain* and *Spain*, all Privileges of *Commerce* and *Navigation* in both the *Indies*, were granted to his *Britannick* Majeſty's Subjects, in as full and ample Manner as they were granted to the *Hollanders* in the Treaty of *Munſter*. And in the Year 1713, a Treaty of *Commerce* was concluded at *Utrecht* between the *Queen* of *Great-Britain*, and this

preſent *King* of *Spain:* by the *Firſt Article* of which it is declared, That, " the Treaty " of Peace, Commerce, and Alliance concluded " at *Madrid*, in 1667, is ratified and con- " firmed by this Treaty ;" and it is added, that, " for the greater Strengthening and Confir- " mation of the ſame, it has been thought pro- " per to inſert it Word for Word in this " Place." Then follows that former Treaty thus ratified and confirmed.

In the Year 1724, but one Year before this *New Alliance* at *Vienna*, this ſame *King* of *Spain* was ſo ſenſible of his *Obligations*, lying upon him from the Treaty of *Munſter* alone, that he preſented, by his Ambaſſador at *London*, a Memorial againſt the *Emperor*'s Attempts upon *Trade* from *Oſtend* ; in which he inſiſted that the Affair of the *Oſtend Company* ſhould be brought before the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*, in order to have the ſaid Company aboliſhed, before he could in Conſcience think of confirming the Ceſſion of the *Netherlands* to the *Emperor:* and urges, that, if this *Confirmation* ſhould be made by *Spain*, " without reſerving expreſsly " to it ſelf the excluſive Right on the Navi- " gation to the *Indies*, in general, and with- " out Exception ; the *States-General* would " be rightly entitled to demand Satisfaction of " *Spain*, for having thereby made a great Infra- " ction of the *Treaty* of *Munſter*, and would " be diſengaged from the reciprocal Obligation " to abſtain from the Navigation of the *Spaniſh* " *Indies*." That is, in other Words, that if he,

the

the *King* of *Spain* ſhould not ſupport the *Dutch* (and conſequently the *Engliſh* alſo) againſt the *Emperor*'s new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*; *that then*, I ſay, he himſelf ſhould be juſtly charged with a moſt *diſhonourable Breach* of *Faith*, and Violation of ſolemn Treaties. Thus ſtand the Engagements of *Spain*, with regard to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, in the Affair of their *Trade* to the *Indies*, and of the *Emperor*'s new Attempts at *Oſtend*. Let us now conſider the *Obligations* and Engagements of the *Emperor* himſelf.

The *Grand Alliance* 1701, between the *Emperor Leopold*, *King William*, and the *States-General*, is built upon this very Foundation of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Trade to the *Indies*, as upon a *main Ground* of that Alliance. It opens itſelf with reciting, that, upon the *Death* of *Charles* II. *King* of *Spain*, without Iſſue, the *Emperor* claimed the Right of Succeſſion to his Countries, as belonging to the *Auſtrian Family*; and, after other Particulars, it follows, "ſo "that without ſome Remedy applied, the *Em-*"*peror* will loſe his Pretenſions; the Empire "loſe its *Fiefs* in *Italy*; and the ENGLISH and "UNITED PROVINCES be deprived of the *free* "*Uſe* of their NAVIGATION and COMMERCE "in the INDIES, and other Places," &c.

Hence it appears, 1. That the *Emperor*'s Family claiming by *Hereditary Right* theſe *Provinces*, could not *rightfully* claim any *Powers*, but what were veſted and remained in *Charles* II. the King of *Spain*, to whom

they were to ſucceed; nor poſſeſs *them*, but upon the *Conditions*, upon which the deceaſed *King* himſelf had poſſeſſed them: And that the Emperor neither could, nor did, claim any thing that his Predeceſſors, Kings of *Spain*, had parted with by ſolemn Treaties; and therefore neither could, nor did, claim thoſe Countries, but upon the ſame Terms and Conditions of Trade, on which King *Charles* II. of *Spain* had enjoyed them, agreeably to ſolemn Treaties with other Powers. 2. That the Preſervation of the Trade in the *Indies*, to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, upon the Foot they enjoyed it, and in the Manner it was carried on, to the Death of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, was one ground, and a main one, of the *Grand Alliance*; and that the Emperor's Pretenſions to the Low-Countries were ſupported by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, upon this, amongſt other Conditions, that the Emperor ſhould reciprocally ſupport their Trade to the *Indies*, on the Foot they had conſtantly enjoyed it. 3. It having been already proved, that *Holland* ever ſince the Treaty of *Munſter* in 1648, and *England* ever ſince the Treaty of *Madrid* in 1667, have carried on their Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, to the Excluſion of the Subjects of the *Netherlands*, by Virtue of thoſe Treaties; it follows, That, in conſequence of this, and by Virtue of this *grand Alliance* it ſelf (by which the *Emperor*'s Claim to theſe Countries is allowed, and the *Claim* of the Allies to their *Commerce* alſo inſiſted on) the Emperor did in Effect oblige

lige himſelf and his *Family*, whenever in Poſſeſſion of theſe *Countries*, to take upon themſelves all the Obligations which the *Kings* of *Spain*, to whom they ſucceeded, were under, to *England* and *Holland*, by former *Treaties*; and to ſupport this *main End* of the *grand Alliance*, relating to the Commerce of the Allies, (expreſsly mentioned in it,) as well as *their own* Pretenſions: and, inſtead of invading them themſelves, to defend them againſt all *Invaders*, according to the Obligations of thoſe *former Treaties*. Nay, it was likewiſe expreſsly ſtipulated, in this *grand Alliance*, ſuppoſing it to end ſucceſsfully; That the *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhould be (not the *Property* of the *Emperor* abſolutely, and without any Conditions; but) a Barrier to the *United Provinces*. So that we ſee, the *Emperor*, in the *grand Alliance* itſelf, conſidered his own Right to the *Netherlands*, with a View to the Trade of his *Allies*; and that the *Spaniſh Low-Countries* were eſtabliſhed in that *Alliance*, as a *Defence* and *Guard* to thoſe *Allies*, whoſe Trade is now going to be ruined from them.

But theſe *Obligations* are not only the real Intent and *Conſequence* of the *grand Alliance*: But it is declared in expreſs Words, in the Barrier *Treaty* concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715, between his preſent *Britannick Majeſty*, this preſent *Emperor*, and the *States-General*, Art. 1. That "the *Emperor* (this preſent Emperor) ſhould "enjoy the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as they were "enjoyed, or ought to have been enjoyed, by

"the

" the late King *Charles* II. conformably to the " Treaty of *Ryſwick.*" That is, with the *ſame Privileges*, and the ſame *Obligations*, neither greater nor leſs.

After all theſe ſolemn Stipulations and Treaties here recited, is it conceivable, what has now been done in the Face of the World?--That *Emperor*, who was under all his Father's Obligations: who could not ſucceed, even by his Title of Hereditary Right, to theſe *Low-Countries*, but under the ſame *Engagements* with thoſe *Kings* of *Spain* to whom he ſucceeds: Who himſelf, in his own Perſon, has declared, in a ſolemn Treaty, that He enjoys theſe Countries no otherwiſe, than as they were enjoyed by the late King of *Spain*; that is, under the ſame Reſtrictions and Obligations to which that *King* was engaged: That ſame Emperor, inſtead of protecting the Commerce of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* from the Invaſions of others, himſelf openly invades it; inſtead of puniſhing any of his Subjects in the *Netherlands* for *Attempts* of *Trade* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or reſtraining them, as he is ſtrictly obliged to do, He has himſelf *erected* a *Company*, and endowed it with *great Privileges*, on purpoſe to Trade thither; and, inſtead of yielding to the juſt Remonſtrances of his injured Neighbours, he has ſet them at Defiance, and ſtrengthened himſelf with a *new Acceſſion* of the Power and Riches of *Spain*, to back this unjuſtifiable Seizure of thoſe Rights of *Commerce*, which are the *eſtabliſhed* and peculiar Privileges of other

other Countries. Such has been the Conduct of the *Emperor*.

And the part which *Spain* has acted, with regard to *Oſtend*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, is, if poſſible, ſtill more extraordinary; and more out of the *common Road* of dealing with *Treaties* and *Alliances*. For thus it is,—— That *King* of *Spain*, who enjoys his Kingdom under the *Stipulations* of the *Treaties* made by his *Predeceſſors*: —— who has confirmed them all *himſelf*, in his own Perſon: —— *He*, who in *one* Year declared it would be a Breach of his Treaties, for Him ever to acquieſce in the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company: That ſame King, the next Year, does much more than this. He undertakes, by this *new Alliance*, to *ſupport* the *Emperor* in this very Eſtabliſhment. Not only this: but he grants to theſe very *Oſtenders*, and all other Subjects of the *Emperor* in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, what he had no Right to grant to them, had they remained his own Subjects; nay, he grants them *Privileges* of his *Ports* and Places in the *Indies*, greater than are allowed to the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* themſelves: And this, not only with reſpect to the *Eaſt-Indies*, but the *Weſt-Indies* alſo. For by the 2d and 3d Articles of the *Vienna Treaty* of *Commerce*, a Liberty is granted to them, to frequent, and Trade in, the Ports of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*: Or, ſuppoſing this not directly granted, in expreſs Words, yet they are at leaſt permitted to *enter* into thoſe Ports for victual-

victualling or repairing their Ships: which will come to the ſame Thing. For if they may enter into, and remain in thoſe Ports, till they have provided themſelves with all Neceſſaries, the *Nature* of the *Bullion* Trade is of that ſort, that no Precaution can prevent that Commerce.

I am ſenſible it may be objected here, that the Liberty granted to the Emperor's Subjects, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, to enter into the Ports of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, in caſe of Diſtreſs of Weather, or for refreſhing themſelves, *&c.* is no more than what was formerly granted to his Majeſty's Subjects by the Treaty of *Madrid*, concluded in 1670. But it is well known, that the Liberty granted by that Treaty, has ceaſed for many Years; and that, in order to prevent the Abuſes that might be committed from ſuch a Permiſſion, and that one Nation might not be more favoured than another on any Pretext whatſoever in the Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, ſufficient Care was taken of that Matter in the 8th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which it is expreſsly ſtipulated, and declared in the following Words: *Whereas among other Conditions of the general Peace, it is by common Conſent eſtabliſhed, as a chief and fundamental Rule, that the Exerciſe of Navigation and Commerce to the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *ſhould remain in the ſame State it was in the Time of King* Charles II. *of* Spain; *and that therefore this Rule may hereafter be obſerved with*

with inviolable Faith, and in a Manner never to be broken, and thereby all Cauſes of Diſtruſt and Suſpicion concerning that Matter may be prevented and removed; it is eſpecially agreed and concluded, that no Licence, or any Permiſſion at all, ſhall at any Time be given to the French, *or any other Nation whatever, in any Name, or under any Pretence, directly, or indirectly, to* Sail, *Traffick,* &c. *to the Dominions ſubject to the Crown of* Spain *in* America; *except what may be agreed by the Treaty, or Treaties of Commerce,* (there referred to,) *and the Rights and Privileges granted in a certain Convention called,* El Aſſiento de Negros. And the *ſame Condition* is likewiſe ſtipulated in the 34th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, between the King of *Spain* and the States. And there needs no other Argument to prove, that it was always underſtood by the Court of *Spain* itſelf, in the Senſe of not ſuffering any Ship to enter into any Port of *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies*, on any Pretext whatever, but to obſerve, That the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are never permitted, though under the greateſt Diſtreſs of Weather, or want of Proviſions, to put into any of thoſe Ports; but their Ships if they come in, are conſtantly confiſcated: and upon this very Account, that, if once Entrance were permitted, the Traffick could not but follow. Yet, notwithſtanding that this is a fundamental Rule of the Treaties of *Utrecht*, and an Article of the general Peace, which is ſtrictly obſerved with regard to all other Nations; it is notoriouſly violated, in Favour and Preference of the Emperor's Subjects.

It is further to be obſerved, that with regard to the Articles of Commerce between *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*, the *Liberty* to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* of entring into the *Spaniſh Ports*, was always expreſsly reſtrained to the *Ports* of *Europe*. But no ſuch *Reſtriction* is once mentioned in the late *Treaty* of *Vienna*, with regard to the *Emperor*'s Subjects. Nay, *all* the *Privileges* allowed to *Britain*, are in expreſs Words allowed to *theſe*; without ſo much as an Exception to the *South-Sea-Ship*, and the *Aſſiento Contract:* Whereas in the Treaty of *Utrecht* with the *Dutch*, that Exception was expreſsly made. Thus has the King of *Spain* granted *all* our Privileges, and greater, to the *Subjects* of the *Emperor*; and, inſtead of *protecting Great Britain*, and the *United Provinces*, in their *Rights* of *Commerce*, according to former Treaties, he has now declared himſelf to be obliged and determined to protect, by Force, the *Emperor* and his *Subjects*, in their *Invaſion* of thoſe Rights. And, from all this put together, it muſt be as evident, as *Words* and *Facts* compared can make any thing, That the *two Courts* of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have founded their *new Alliance*, as far as it reſpects *Trade*, on the Deſtruction of all publick *Faith*, the *Infraction* of Treaties, and the *Violation* of all that can hold together *Nations* in Peace, and mutual Benevolence.

After ſo plain a Proof of the great *Injuſtice* of the Attempt of the *Imperial Court* upon *Trade*, from the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and of the King of *Spain*'s determined Encouragement of

of it: It would not be improper here to consider at ſome length the *Importance* and *Conſequence* of this Conduct to *our ſelves*; were it not that This has been ſet in ſo ſtrong a Light already, as to make it much leſs neceſſary; and particularly, in a *ſhort Treatiſe*, Intitled, *The Importance of the Oſtend Company conſidered.* Yet, before I paſs from this Subject, I muſt mention ſome few particular Conſequences of this new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*, and of the *new Treaty* of *Commerce* (by which ſo large Privileges are granted to the Subjects of the *Netherlands*) with regard to our *Trade*; and in the end to our *Liberties*, and our *Religion*, themſelves.

The *United Provinces*, it is plain from their whole Conduct, eſteem themſelves undone in their main Concern, if this *Company* be ſupported. And if *They* are undone in *their Trade*; it is well known to all, who are acquainted with the *Track* of *Merchandize*, that the Gain of their Loſs in Trade will not accrue to *England*, but fly to thoſe Countries where this Evil began. As to the *Eaſt-India Trade* particularly; the ſame *Rival*, which ruines That in *Holland*, muſt by the ſame Methods inevitably ruine it in *England*. Nay, it muſt ruine it ſooner and more effectually here: not only becauſe *Holland* has the ſole Property of the *Spice* Trade, beſides other Advantages; but becauſe the *Dutch Merchandizes* are free from the Burthen of *Cuſtoms*; whilſt our *Cuſtoms* give the greateſt Encouragement to the *Oſtenders* to run, and put off, a Multitude of their Goods in *England*. The Damage and Ruine muſt be the ſame, as

to our *West-India* Trade, from the *Privileges* granted by the *Vienna Treaty* of *Commerce* to the Emperor's Subjects: the *Privilege* of *entring* into the *Spanish* Ports in the *West-Indies*, and, by unavoidable Consequence, of trading there, where neither *English* or *Dutch* are ever permitted to enter upon any *pretence*; and the *comprehensive Privilege* of enjoying all Rights which *Britain* enjoys, without any *Exception*; and, by consequence, of interfering with, and hurting, not only our *Assiento Contract*, but *every Instance* of *Commerce* with *Spain*, which we have a Right to by repeated *Treaties*.

Nor can the Evil stop here, but must of Necessity insinuate it self into many other of the most important Branches of our *Trade*, which have a mutual and indissolvible Connexion one with another. The convenient Situation of the *Spanish Netherlands* between the *North* and the *South* of *Europe*, for all the Purposes of an extended Trade:---The Advantage of the Ports of *Ostend* and *Newport*, which, though none of the *best*, yet may vye with those of *Holland*; and will be as convenient Harbours for *Privateers*, as ever *Dunkirk* it self was, when the time shall come for an avowed and forcible Interruption to *Our* Trade and that of *Holland*: The Goodness of their *Rivers* for communicating all *Merchandizes*, at the most easy Rates, from *Town* to *Town*; and the later Addition of several large *Canals* and *Causeways*, where the Rivers are wanting:---The Fruitfulness of the Country, and the easy Price of all Provisions, very advantagious to all Manufacturers:---

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The *Liberties* and *Privileges* of the *Towns*, which ſtill ſubſiſt; very inviting to the ſame *Manufacturers*:--The *Genius* of the *People*, very well fitted for all the *Improvements* of *Trade* and Manufactures:---and, to animate them, the Experience and Hiſtory of paſt Times, which will ſhew them, that they have formerly, with a little Encouragement from their Governours, flouriſhed in *Manufactures* both *Woollen* and *Linnen* (beſides thoſe many which they ſtill retain;) the *Woollen* now again reviving to a Degree of Goodneſs at *Limburgh*, ſo as already to under-ſell the *Dutch* themſelves; and the *Linnen* more eaſily revived by the Advantage of the great Quantity of *Flax* growing in theſe Countries:-----And this Experience of former Days pointing out to them likewiſe the Poſſibility and Probability of their carrying their *Navigation* to a great Pitch, in the *Number* and *Strength* of their *Shipping*, increaſing by Degrees, as it always does, in Proportion to *Manufactures* and *Fiſheries*; and the faſter, as theſe Countries lie nearer and more convenient for enticing *Fiſhermen* and *Sailors*, as well as *Manufacturers* themſelves, from hence, upon all Occaſions; and alſo for the clandeſtine *Importation* of *Wooll* from *England* and *Ireland*, to carry on their Deſigns. Theſe, and many more Particulars ſhew, that, as one Branch of *Trade* leads to *another*, and one Trial encourages *another*; and as all *Commerce* is of a ſpreading and communicative Nature, where it meets with proper *Materials*, and proper *Encouragement*; ſo this muſt probably be the Caſe, if the

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Beginnings of *Evil* be not looked after: That not only our own *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trade, and that of the *Dutch*, will be ruined by the *Oſtend* Company, which will be the immediate *Effect* of it; (or rather is ſo *already* in a great Degree;) but alſo, that the *Contagion* will ſpread to many other *Branches* of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Trade; and convey along with it the *Riches*, the *Strength*, and the *Naval* Power, to the ſame *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

But were it ſo, that *Holland* alone would be the Sufferer by the *Oſtend* Trade (which is far from being the Caſe;) yet the Ruine of *Holland* muſt carry along with it, in the end, the Ruine, of *Britain*. For, as theſe two Nations remaining United, are indeed the *Turn* of the Balance of *Europe*, whenever they join themſelves to any other great Power of *Europe*; and *Both* of them together, but barely ſufficient for this Purpoſe: Whatever Ruines the *Trade*, that is, the Riches and Strength of *theſe*, deſtroys at the ſame time the Evenneſs of that Balance, which alone can keep *Europe* in any tolerable Order. And whatever Ruins any *One* of theſe *Powers*, does as truly deſtroy the ſufficiency of that *Strength*, by which alone that *Balance* is preſerved. And what then muſt be the Conſequence? *Where* the *Trade* and *Riches* of theſe, or of either of theſe, ſettle, *there* ſettles the *Power* with them; and that *Power* removed from *them*, muſt be the *Deſtruction* of the *Balance*; and the Deſtruction of that *Balance* muſt be the *loſs* of the *Liberties* of the *reſt* of *Europe*, and particularly, as Occaſion ſhall offer, of the Liberties of *Great Britain*. And

And I need not add, that the ſame *Popiſh Power*, which will gain all this *Strength*, (for it is in a *Popiſh Power* that all this muſt Centre,) will have the ſame *Strength*, and a greater *Will*, to extirpate every Appearance of *Proteſtantiſm*, of what Denomination ſoever, out of *Europe*; without Exception to any one Church above another: only with the fatal *Exception* of a more ſure and quick Blow *to that Church*, a great Part of whoſe Revenues, as well as the Riches of a Multitude of its *Members*, ariſe from the *Diſſolution* of *Monaſteries*, and the *Alienation* of *Abbey-Lands*; and whoſe unpardonable *Crime* it will be, to have been the great Support of the *Reformation*, and the *Bulwark* of the *Proteſtant* Cauſe againſt *Popery*. For where can that *Church*, or where can the *Proteſtant Religion*, hope, I will not ſay, for *Countenance*, but for *Sufferance*; when the whole *Proteſtant Power* in *Europe*, which, in its preſent Condition, is little better than a Creature with Pain and Difficulty ſtruggling for Life, ſhall be broken to Pieces by Acquiſitions, made by other Powers, of Riches and Force: Acquiſitions, which will be a double Strength againſt it, as they are taken from Thoſe who alone have a Will to protect it, and added to Thoſe who have a Zeal to hurt and oppreſs it. And that *this* muſt be the *End* of ſuch *Beginnings*, ſuffered to proceed with Succeſs, and gathering Strength every Step they go, is as plain, and as true, as, That *proper Food* will give *Strength* gradually to the *weakeſt Man*, capable of receiving it; too great to be reſiſted at laſt by the *ſtrongeſt Man*, who ſuffers it to be taken from *himſelf*; and who by that Loſs of

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Nourishment grows *weaker* and *weaker*, as well as by the Strength added by it to the *other*.

I will now say a Word more peculiarly relating to *Great Britain*; and the *Concern* this Nation has, in its present Circumstances, in the *Fate* of its *Trade*, or of *any* of the Branches of it. The two last *Wars* abroad, upon which not only our own Safety, but that of the *Liberties* of all *Europe*, depended, and by which they were preserved; together with the continual Attempts of our Enemies, since the general Peace, to load us with the Chains of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, have run *Great Britain* into a vast *Expence*: and this Expence has left behind it an immense *Debt*; and this *Debt*, so justly due to the *Creditors* of the *Publick*, must be paid, both out of strict Duty, if there be any such thing as *publick Justice*, and out of *Interest*, if we have a Mind ever again, in any *Extremity*, to be trusted. This lies as a great and heavy Burthen upon the Minds of all true Lovers of their Country: And, I know, that for the sake of this single Point, and from their earnest desire of seeing so great a Good accomplish-ed, without any interruptions, Many of the best Friends to the *Publick* are ready to regret any Opposition made to the Designs of this *New Alliance*, as the first Step to a *War*; and to ask, How much better, to bear the Inconveniencies mentioned; to submit to the Loss of *Gibraltar*; to be contented with all the Consequences of the *Ostend-Trade*; to connive at all the Designs of such Powers united; than to put any Stop to our Prospect of a gradual Payment of our Debts?--Our main Business, they argue, is to free our selves from that Load. The *sinking Fund*

Fund is a good Beginning; and, if not hindred by Quarrels with Powers abroad, muſt go on to diminiſh our Debt. This Payment of our Debt, we ſhould look after, as our Strength in future Times, and our greateſt Force againſt our *Enemies*; and not ſhew our ſelves ſo concerned about the Points juſt now mentioned.

On the other Side, I cannot help entirely differing from all this. Nay, I cannot forbear to urge this very *Oppoſition* to the *New Alliance*, as the only certain Method of taking any one Step farther towards this Great Good; as ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that *without it*, there is an End of all Hope of it. And I contend for the moſt *vigorous Oppoſition* to the Deſigns of this *New Alliance*, for this very Reaſon, becauſe we are in Debt; and muſt be for ever in Debt; and ſhall never probably have it in our Power to pay any *Part* more of that *Debt*; if thoſe Deſigns go on unoppoſed and unreſiſted.

For in the firſt Place, They who argue againſt it, from this Conſideration, leave out a *main Point*; and a Point which comprehends all other Evils in it; and that is, the *continued Attempts* of putting the *Pretender* upon us: which muſt ſucceed unleſs we ſhew our ſelves determined to oppoſe any *Power* engaged in Support of ſuch Deſigns. And if this *one thing* ſucceeds; it is of ſmall Importance to our *Debt*, what our Trade will be after this is effected. Every one can ſee that a Debt, contracted in Order to keep out *Him* and his *Family* for ever, will never be paid, but by *one Univerſal Blot* ſpread over the Face of

the whole Accompt; if *He* ſhould ever be ſettled here, againſt whom this *Debt* has raiſed Armies, and mann'd Fleets, and fought many ſucceſsful Battles. What Good therefore, towards the Payment of our Debt will a ſupine Negligence do? or what Account can the *Creditors* of the *Publick* hope to find, from not oppoſing an Alliance which may otherwiſe too probably end in the eſtabliſhing a *King* here, under whom the leaſt Evil will be this, That the Creditors of the Publick will be ſure of loſing at once their whole juſt *Debt*, and the *Intereſt* of it?

But, putting the *Pretender* wholly out of the *Queſtion*, as a Perſon not in Being; Or, ſuppoſing our ſelves ſecure from every future Attempt in his Favour: yet, the *Caſe* with Reſpect to the Payment of the *Debt*, muſt very ſoon be the ſame; (however it may happily differ *in many* other Particulars) if the Conditions of theſe *New Treaties* at *Vienna*, both *Publick* and *Private*, are, through our ſupine Negligence, ſuffer'd to be fulfilled. For, what is the *ſinking Fund* from which we hope for Relief? It is the *Surplus* of the *Produce* of the *Cuſtoms* and *Exciſes*, after the Payment of the *Civil Liſt*, and of the *Intereſt* of the *National Debt*. Theſe *Cuſtoms* are the *Appurtenances* to *Trade* and *Commerce*. Take away *any* Part of this *Trade*, or diminiſh it in any Branch; juſt ſo much in Proportion you diminiſh or take away from theſe *Cuſtoms*. The firſt thing therefore, that muſt feel the *Diminution* of our *Trade*, is the Produce of our *Cuſtoms*; and the firſt thing that muſt feel the Diminution

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of our *Customs*, is the *Sinking Fund:* because the *Civil List* and the *Interest* of the *National Debt* must first be paid, before *any Surplus* at all can be laid apart for the Payment of the *Principal.* Let therefore your Trade decay; permit the *New Company* at *Ostend*, to make your own *East* and *West-India* Trade utterly impracticable; and suffer your own *Commerce* to be by Degrees transplanted, and to flourish, in the *Netherlands*, under the Advantages and Encouragements in those Parts just now mentioned; besides the *Prohibitions* upon your own *Manufactures* every Day increasing upon you: and this alone will immediately prevent any such *Surplusage* from remaining. For what Need of Words? As *Customs* are the *Appendages* of *Trade*, they must decay with it: As the *Sinking Fund* depends entirely on the Abundance of *Customs*, this must *first* vanish upon their Decrease. What then must immediately become of the *principal Debt?* And indeed, very soon after this, what must become even of the *Interest* of it: when the *Customs*, which are the *Fund* for the Yearly Payment of that *Interest*, are themselves vanish'd away? And I will add, never after *this* to be recalled again.

For here is the real Difference between the *two Methods* of proceeding, now under our Consideration. *First*, As to that of vigorous Opposition to the Measures of the *New Alliance*; if we should allow to Those who thus argue against it, that it may possibly bring on, in its natural Course, an *Interruption* to Trade, and a *Dimi-*

nation of Cuſtoms; and conſequently a Stop to that Payment of the *National Debt* which depends upon the abundance of theſe *Cuſtoms:* Yet, this is but a *Temporary Stop.* If theſe vigorous Meaſures meet with Succeſs, and the Bleſſing of Providence attend upon them, the Courſe of Trade opens itſelf again with Vigour; and, the Cuſtoms reviving in Proportion, the *Sinking Fund* muſt of Neceſſity do ſo too. And if this Method of *Vigorous Oppoſition* ſhould not be ſucceſsful; the Caſe could not be worſe than it muſt be without it. For in the other *Method*; That of Supine Negligence, and of yielding to all Demands without the Attempt of any Relief; our Conduct has but *one certain Event* poſſible, as to the Point now before us. The *Sinking Fund* muſt, with the Decreaſe of the *Cuſtoms*, vaniſh immediately: and ſo muſt, ſoon after it, the Annual Intereſt of our Debt. And then, the *longer* the *Oſtend* Company continues its Commerce, the *ſtronger* and more extended muſt it grow; and the more extended that is, the more confined muſt our *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Commerce be, in all their Branches, till they dwindle into nothing; and the more the *Sweets* of *Trade* are taſted in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the *Auſtrian* Countries too, the more improbable or rather impoſſible it will be, ever to recall it into theſe Parts, upon any ſuch *Terms* as can make the *Cuſtoms*, once ruined, revive in *England.* In a Word, in *one* Way, the Diminution of the National *Debt* may be interrupted by a vigorous *Oppoſition* to the Meaſures abroad: but then will revive a-

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gain, and go on in its proper Channel. In the *other* Way, the ſame *Diminution*, and Loſs of the Means of paying the *Debt*, and even the *Intereſt* of it, will be the Fate of this Nation: and that, with this *unhappy* Aggravation; that, if the Loſs comes *this Way*, it is never to be retriev'd; nor any Hope left of that Payment for the future.

As others therefore are moved by a Regard to this great Good to the Nation, to be averſe to all Methods of *vigorous* Oppoſition; I cannot help being moved by the ſame Regard, the very contrary Way: and what They *fear*, becauſe we have ſuch a *Debt* upon us, which ought to be paid; that I *wiſh*, for the ſame Reaſon, becauſe we are in Debt; and that *Debt* ought to be paid; and that Debt cannot be paid without ſuch an *Oppoſition* as may preſerve our Commerce upon a *Foundation* granted to it by the moſt ſolemn *Treaties*, the only *Purchaſe* of the *Toil* and *Expence* of *Britain*; and ſuch a *Foundation*, as alone can enable us to go on in a gradual Juſtice to the *Creditors* of the Publick.

And in ſuch a Method of proceeding, This ought to be our great Support and Confidence, that it is not an arbitrary Contention againſt the Rights of any other Nation in the World; nor a Conteſt for our Trade, merely as our great Advantage, or as the Inſtrument of paying the National *Debt*, and ſecuring the National Happineſs; but really and truly a Contention for our ſtrict Right and Due, invaded with an high Hand by other Powers, againſt the *Faith* of *Treaties*, as well as the Force of the higheſt

Obliga-

Obligations. Nor can we conceive a more abject Servility of Conduct, than for a *People* so long fam'd for *Commerce* and *Bravery*, to see their *Darling Good*, and their peculiar Glory; the Pledge of their *Liberty*, and Life of all their Property, just going to be forcibly and unrighteously torn from them; and tamely to look on without *one Struggle* for so great a Blessing, or one hearty Effort against the Invaders of it. What can we become, if we give our Consent to such Ruine by our own supine Indolence and Insensibility; and suffer our selves to be stripp'd of our boasted Strength and Ornament at once; but a Nation, the most despicable of all Nations under Heaven; exposed to the Contempt and Insults of the World about us here *below*, and render'd utterly unworthy, by our own Conduct, of the Care of Providence *above* us?

IV. After all this said upon the Consequences of this *New Alliance*, with a particular Respect to the *Protestant* Establishment, the *Possessions*, and the *Commerce*, of *Great-Britain*; it will be very proper now to touch upon another *Article* of the *Secret* Part of *it*, in which, not only *Britain*, but all *Europe* in general, is extremely concern'd: I mean the *Marriages* agreed upon, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; which, added to the *comprehensive* and *extended Trade* now likely to be transplanted into the *Netherlands*, must constitute a Power in *one Family* beyond all that we have known, Formidable and Irrisistible. The *Marriages* I speak of, are *those* of

of the two *Arch Dutcheſſes, Daughters* to the preſent *Emperor*, with the two *Infants* of *Spain*, Sons to the *King* by his preſent *Queen*. And that *theſe* are agreed upon, as a main and eſſential Point in this *New Alliance*, We have the following Proofs.

1. Immediately after the Signing the *Publick Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna*, *Ripperda* very freely talk'd of the *Marriage* of *Don Carlos*, the *eldeſt* Son of the preſent Queen of *Spain*, with the *eldeſt Arch Dutcheſs*, as a fixt Matter; and that the *Prince* of *Aſturias* was diſregarded in this *Alliance*, becauſe of his ill Health, as he pretended at that Time: and a little while after, he ſpake as openly and poſitively about the *Marriages*, both of *Don Carlos* and his *Brother*. One of his Converſations was very Remarkable, and full of ſuch *Circumſtances* as will not let Us doubt of the *Truth* of the Subject of it. 'The King's *Miniſters* in *Spain*, and the whole 'Spaniſh Nation, (*ſays He*) are bitter againſt me: 'but I laugh at all that. The *Queen* will protect 'me. I have done *her* ſuch Services that *ſhe* 'can't abandon me: for thus the Matter ſtands. 'The *Propoſals* of the *Imperial Court* were of 'a *Marriage* with the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, and 'my firſt *Inſtructions* from *Spain* were for the 'Prince of *Aſturias*; but it was I, who got that 'Deſtination changed. I wrote to the *Queen* to 'engage the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, without De-'lay, to a Daughter of *Portugal*, that he might 'not ſtand in the Way of *Don Carlos*: And it

'was

‘ was I that found the Way of turning all this ‘ Affair to the Advantage of her *two Sons*. And ‘ do you think I have much to Fear after ſuch ‘ Services ” ?

2. This agrees exactly with the Language of the Court of *Madrid* : Where, after the *Treaty* of *Peace* was known to be Sign'd at *Vienna*, this Alliance with the *Emperor* was freely ſpoke of, as the *Queen's* own *Tranſaction* entirely ; enter'd into, and conducted by *herſelf* ; and the *Marriage* of *Don Carlos* ſpoke of, at firſt, without reſerve or Appearance of Secrecy, as a Matter agreed upon. Nor did any *one* Perſon, who frequented the Court of *Spain*, make the leaſt Doubt of it.

3. This will help us to Account for other Parts of the *Conduct* of *Spain* : which, without this, will be wholly unaccountable, and out of the Road of all Policy. For inſtance, Suppoſe only theſe *Marriages*, or That alone of *Don Carlos* with the *eldeſt Arch Dutcheſs* ; and this will ſhew us, Why that Court could be brought to diſcard the *Neutral Garriſons*, and all other *Securities* furniſh'd by the *Quadruple* Alliance for the *Eſtabliſhing* her Son, that ſame *Don Carlos*, in *Italy* ; and to truſt to the *Emperor's* naked Word in ſo great a Point : *viz.* Becauſe by this *Marriage* it would come about, that the *Emperor*, by ſecuring thoſe *Dominions* in *Italy* for *Don Carlos*, would ſecure them, at the ſame Time, for the *Iſſue* of his own *Daughter* ; and ſo muſt of Neceſſity, for the Sake of his own

own Intereſt, and the aggrandizing his own Family, be ſincere and zealous in this Affair. On the other Side, the ſame Suppoſition of this *Marriage* gives a reaſonable Solution, Why the Court of *Spain* has conſented to, what the *Spaniſh Miniſters* at the *Congreſs* would not hear of, the *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* in *Germany*, as lately eſtabliſh'd in the Houſe of *Auſtria: viz.* Becauſe it comes about by this Marriage, that being *Guarantee* to the *Emperor*'s *Succeſſion* in his *Auſtrian Dominions*, is no more than being *Guarantee* for the Queen's own Son *Don Carlos*, the future Husband of the *eldeſt Arch-Dutcheſs*; and that *Self-Intereſt* muſt make *Spain*, under its preſent Adminiſtration, ſincere in this *Guaranty*. And upon any other Bottom, we may ſafely defy the World to give a Solution of *theſe*, and *ſeveral* other Appearances, in this New Alliance.

I need not go farther, and appeal to any Words that may have been dropp'd in Confidence, at the Court of *Vienna* itſelf, upon the Subject of theſe Marriages; and that, with a particular Pleaſure and Satisfaction expreſs'd in them: Since we have ſo much, and ſo ſtrong, Evidence of the Reality of it, from the Mouth of *Ripperda*, who made the Treaty; and from the Language of the *Court* of *Spain* itſelf; as well as from the utter Inconſiſtency and Unaccountableneſs of the Proceedings of that Court without this Suppoſition.

I acknowledge indeed, That at *Vienna*, when it began to appear that what had been ſaid upon this Head had allarm'd *Europe*; and when, in par-

ticular, the great Aim was to keep the *Dutch* from acceding to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*; which might be haſten'd by ſo terrible an Appearance: Then, the whole Affair of theſe *Marriages* was utterly diſown'd; nay, in Order to deny theſe *Marriages*, it was abſolutely denied that there was any ſuch Thing in Being as a *ſecret Treaty* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. I am not afraid of relating *this*, after all the Proofs before given of the *Reality* of a *ſecret Treaty*, and of this *Article* in it; nor at all unwilling that it ſhould work as much as it can, and have all the Weight it ought to have: For I am confident, that, as this Conduct convinced no one Perſon at *Vienna*; and made not the leaſt *Impreſſion* upon the *Dutch Miniſter*, or his *Maſters*; ſo it will make no Impreſſion upon Any who have read what I have before laid down, unleſs it be this, That they who can act an unjuſtifiable Part, can, without Scruple, and with the ſame Eaſe, bring themſelves to a peremptory and abſolute Denial of it, 'till the proper Time comes for their open Avowal of it.

But as this *Article* of theſe *Marriages* muſt remain undoubted; we cannot help ſpending a few Thoughts upon the *Conſequences* of them, or of the Firſt of *them* only. There is but *one* Life, that of the *Prince* of *Aſturias*, between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *Spain*, after the Death of the preſent *King*. There is only the ſame Life between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *France*; ſhould the preſent King there dye without

without *Iſſue Male*; and the late *Renunciations* not take Place: both which Events may happen.

And as to the vaſt Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *Don Carlos* will come to them by Right of his Wife. And as Experience has ſhewn us, for many Ages, that whoever is Maſter of theſe Dominions, and the Power that attends them, has been and muſt be Emperor, notwithſtanding its being an Elective Crown: *Don Carlos*, by marrying the *eldeſt Arch Dutcheſs*, cannot fail of being *Emperor*. So that *Don Carlos* may poſſibly be at once, *Emperor*, King of *France*, and King of *Spain*: and have the vaſt Strength and Riches of all theſe Powers united and center'd in him.

I have thus ſufficiently ſhewn the many and complicated *Evils* of this *New Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and the juſt *Apprehenſions*, and well-grounded *Fears*, which the Court of *Great-Britain* could not but entertain, from all Appearances and all Advices, about the *Nature* and *Tendency* of it, with Regard to the preſent *Eſtabliſhment* of the *Crown* of *Great-Britain*; to our *Poſſeſſions*; our *Commerce*; our *Religion*; our *Liberties*, and thoſe of all *Europe*; and, in a Word, to every *Thing* that ought to be Dear to Us. And now, Let any Perſons amongſt us, who know how to prize theſe *ineſtimable Goods*, which alone make *Life* itſelf valuable, ſurvey this *New Alliance* in every Part of it: and judge, 'Whe-
'ther ever hitherto *any one Scheme* has appear'd
'in *Europe*, of a Deſtruction ſo univerſal, and

' of a Ruine ſo extended, as *This* (taking the ' whole together) appears plainly to be".

It is time now for us to enquire, What has been the Conduct of the Court of *Great Britain*, upon the View of all theſe Evils.

1. The firſt ſtep they took was to renew, by a Treaty, the Defenſive Engagements ſubſiſting between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*. But this Treaty was not ſet on foot till ſome Months after the *New Alliance* between the *Emperour* and *Spain*; and after the beſt Intelligences, and moſt mature Conſideration, of the *Tendency* of that *Alliance*. And as this *Treaty*, made at *Hanover*, has long been publick in the World; I need not obſerve that it is a *Treaty* entirely *Defenſive* between *Britain*, *France* and *Pruſſia*, for the mutual ſupport of each other, againſt Injuries; and not at all for the invading, or injuring, any Nation under Heaven.

2. Particular Regard was ſhewn to the *States General*, in the framing of the Treaty of *Hanover*: to which they have ſince acceded. The next care was to invite the Crown of *Sweden* into this Alliance; that Kingdom having ſo often and ſo ſucceſsfully appeared in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Liberties of Europe. And the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, whoſe Family has done ſuch ſignal Service to the Proteſtant Cauſe, readily offer'd a good Body of Troops, in ſupport of this Alliance.

Theſe are the Steps which the Court of *Great Britain* thought fit to take as ſoon as poſſible, after

after the Danger we were in, appeared evident beyond all contradiction.

3. As the Parliament of *Great Britain* found their Country immediately threatn'd in its greateſt Concerns from theſe Treaties of *Vienna*; Both Houſes gave his *Majeſty* all *Aſſurance* of ſupport in whatever He ſhould think fit to do in the preſent critical Conjuncture. And accordingly it was neceſſary now to conſider in earneſt, what was moſt proper to be done. The Court of *Great Britain* had evident Proof that nothing could influence the Two *New Allies* to Terms of Reaſon, but to ſhew a *vigorous Spirit* againſt every pernicious or ſuſpicious part of ſuch an Alliance. And as all Appearances, in all Parts, convinced them, That nothing could ſo effectually guard againſt approaching Evils, as the diſpatching ſufficient *Squadrons* of *Ships* to ſeveral Places; and as they were ſenſible that our *Fleet*, now the beſt in the World, could never be of any Account, either towards our *Glory* or our *Safety*, but upon ſuch an Occaſion; They did, with all poſſible Diligence, fit out *Three Squadrons* of *Men of War*: One for the *Weſt-Indies*, One for the Coaſts of *Spain*, and One for the *Baltick*.

It will now be ask'd, as it has been indeed already, What beneficial *Effect* has this *Method* had? What Good have we gain'd, or what Evil have we prevented, by theſe Grand Appearances of our *Fleets* abroad? And if an Anſwer may be reaſonably expected, by Thoſe who ask theſe and the like *Queſtions*; ſo is it alſo a juſt Expectation,

That,

That They ſhould be as ready to receive a Reaſonable Anſwer to them, as they are to ask them.

As to the Treaty of *Hanover*; I will ſuppoſe, no *Apology* can be expected for *That*, after ſuch a ſurprizing and *formidable* Conjunction of the *Two Powers* of the *Emperour* and *Spain*; the Deſign, and the *Articles* of which *Conjunction* appear'd every Day more and more terrible to their *Neighbours*. The Contracting Parties in the *Hanover* Treaty muſt have been taxed with *Infatuation* and *Inſenſibility*, beyond the common Pitch of *Thoſe Evils*, if They had not enter'd into a *ſtrict* and *hearty* Concert for their own *Self-Defence*, in ſuch circumſtances, of preſent Invaſion of the *Trade* of *ſome* of them; and of Forebodings of *future* Evil to them All.

But as the Queſtion here at home, chiefly, if not ſolely, refers to our Naval *Armaments* from *England*; What have They produced, or, For what Reaſons were They ſent? The Anſwer is very plain. As to the Squadron ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*; I believe there is no one who has an Eſtate in thoſe Parts, or is concern'd in any Trade thither, who did not think it highly neceſſary to have a Strong Squadron in thoſe Seas, for ſecuring our Commerce; which muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably ruined, by the Depredations and Violences committed by the Spaniards for ſeveral Years paſt without Redreſs. And if the ſending of the ſaid Squadron has prevented the Return of the Galleons; no Man who is in the leaſt converſant in the Affairs of Europe, can make any doubt but that this Incident has been the only Thing that has hitherto

hitherto prevented a War in Europe, by depriving the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* of the means of putting in execution the dangerous Schemes they had projected.

The *Squadron* ſent to the Coaſts of *Spain*, was ſent to prevent any Attempt from that Country, to diſturb Us at Home: The Court of *Great Britain* being aſſured, beyond all doubt, as I have before particularly related, that an *Offenſive Treaty* was concluded at *Vienna*; and that an Attempt was deſign'd from *Spain*, and Preparations making for it, at that Time, in Favour of the *Pretender*.

And the *Squadron* ſent to the *Baltick* was ſent to prevent very great Evils in thoſe Parts; there being no room to doubt, that the *Czarina*'s real View was to go with a Fleet directly to *Stockholm*, and under a Pretence of demanding the Uſe of the Ports, and the Aſſiſtance of *Sweden* for the Recovery of *Sleſwick* to the Duke of *Holſtein*, actually to dethrone the preſent King of *Sweden*, and make that Nation abſolutely dependent on *Muſcovy*. It was therefore, judg'd of the utmoſt Importance to prevent this, by ſending a ſtrong Squadron into the *Baltick*; not only as it was the preſerving a Friendly *Power*, and a *Power* Neceſſary to the *Balance* of the *North*: but particularly, becauſe *Sweden* could not but be conſider'd in the Nature of a Frontier and Barrier to *Britain* itſelf, to ſuch a Degree, that if that *Kingdom* were once either made ſubject to *Ruſſia*, or Dependent upon it, *Britain* itſelf muſt be in Apprehenſion of Attempts from the *Ruſ-*

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ſian Ravagers, coming with their Fleet from *Gottenburg* to our *Northern* Coaſts: an Evil not to be guarded againſt, after the Subjection of *Sweden*, but by the *Expence*, either of a conſtant *Fleet* upon thoſe *Coaſts*, or an *armed Force* in thoſe Parts of our Country, which lie moſt open to ſuch Attempts.

The Deſigns and Views in ſending out theſe *Squadrons* being ſo unexceptionably Good; ſuppoſing that, through the *Diſpoſitions* of *Providence*, and the Oppoſition of Winds and Weather, Succeſs had not attended upon any *One* of theſe Squadrons; nay, that *Great* and *Extraordinary* Misfortunes had followed them all: yet, *They* who are not ſo weak as to argue from *Succeſs* alone; They who know the Uncertainty of *Seas*, and *Winds*, and *Weather*, and have too much Underſtanding to think the *Event* only to be the true *Criterion* of Judging about the *Wiſdom* of any Project; all Perſons, I mean of good Senſe, ſhould, methinks, have been ready, even in ſuch a Caſe, to have applauded what was done upon ſo good Grounds, and with Views ſo much for the Honour and Safety of their Country. But, *God* be thank'd, this is not the Caſe. Every one of the Armaments has had Succeſs equal to the Goodneſs of the Errand, they were all ſent upon; and even, beyond Expectation. For, as to the Squadron in the *Weſt-Indies*; it has not only protected the Trade of His Majeſty's Subjects in thoſe Parts from the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; but alſo the *Galeons* with their Stores of Money, the *Strength* of

of the *New Alliance*, and the *life* of all the *Projects* concerted in it, are kept back: and thoſe *Attempts* diſappointed which would have been made, and perhaps ſucceeded, had ſuch *Riches* come to their Aid. The Execution of the Schemes laid in *Spain* for an Invaſion of *Great-Britain*, in Favour of the *Pretender*, was, at that Time, prevented by the Appearance of a *Britiſh* Fleet upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts: and all the Evils and Diſorders, as well as Expence, avoided, which an Attack of that Sort muſt have occaſion'd, even ſuppoſing it repulſed from hence; and the utter Ruin and Deſtruction, that muſt have enſued, had it ſucceeded. And by the Squadron in the *Baltick*, the *Czarina*'s whole Force of Ships and Galleys was kept in, within the Bounds of Safety to *themſelves* and their *Neighbours*; Her deſtructive Deſigns againſt *Sweden*, with all their ill Conſequences to *Britain* and to other Countries of *Europe*, prevented from *Execution* in every Inſtance: and, after all the boaſted Strength of the *Ships* and *Seamen* in the Service of that *Crown*, *Ruſſia* itſelf, and all *Europe* convinc'd, that *twenty Britiſh* Men of *War* can, upon any Occaſion, make them diſappear as if they were not, and ſhelter themſelves in their own Ports as if they had no Views but thoſe of Quiet and Security.

But here is the great Advantage to *Thoſe* who make ſuch *Enquiries* as theſe we have been now conſidering, without a Diſpoſition to be ſatisfy'd: That *Evils* prevented, go for no *Evils*; and be-

cauſe they were not viſibly perceiv'd by our Eyes, nor ſenſibly felt by our Nerves, before we find them at a greater Diſtance from us, therefore, They who are in the Diſpoſition of *Satyr* (ſo much eaſier than *Praiſe*) will probably think themſelves at *Liberty* to deny this *Freedom* from ſuch *Evils* to be at all the Effect of the Meaſures taken; and to perſiſt in it, that no ſuch Evils would have come, or could have been juſtly fear'd, if theſe Methods had not been taken. And in this Manner, I own, They may talk for ever againſt all poſſible Light; if the whole *Scene* which I have, in the former Part of theſe Papers, laid before them, be not of Force enough to work another Perſwaſion in them. Yet, *one* Thing, I will affirm, 'That we, and other 'Nations are, at preſent, actually free from 'the *Evils* and *Attempts* I have mention'd, '*ſince* theſe *vigorous Meaſures* have ſhew'd 'themſelves in the View of *Europe*; and that 'They themſelves cannot ſay it was *certain*, (as 'others will not ſay, it was in the leaſt *proba-'ble*) that We ſhould have been free from thoſe 'Evils and thoſe Attempts, had *not* theſe *Meaſures* 'been taken."

Thus therefore, ſtands the Affair of theſe *three Squadrons*. They were ſent upon Deſigns of the laſt Conſequence, and exceedingly Honourable, to *Great-Britain*: And they have had the Succeſs of fully anſwering the Ends propoſed.

It was not, we ſee, to aſſert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, merely by ſhewing themſelves in ſeveral

ſeveral Parts of the World in a *Form* ſuperior to that of other Nations, that theſe *Armaments* were fitted out. The aſſerting our *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a Point of mere *Speculation*, at a great Expence, and without any other View, may, perhaps, be a Subject fit for Men of Wit to be pleaſant with, and to entertain themſelves and their Friends upon. But to aſſert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a *Point* of *Action*, upon a juſt Occaſion: ---To ſhew this *Sovereignty* in the Sight of thoſe Nations, who are making their own Strength at *Sea* the Inſtrument of Ruine to their Neighbours:---To ſhew it, in Oppoſition to thoſe *Nations* who are contriving to convey Miſchief to ourſelves, and Aſſiſtance to our Enemies, by the Sea itſelf: ---If *this* be not the proper Buſineſs, and the peculiar Glory of *Britain*, as the *greateſt Maritime Power* now in *Europe*; then our *Navy* is itſelf a *Ridicule* upon ourſelves; an Oſtentation only, kept up at a vaſt Expence; and a Piece of *Vanity*, unworthy of a *Grave* and *Wiſe* Nation. But no more upon this Part of the Subject.

Another *Queſtion* will be ask'd, What has been, and muſt be, *our Expence* upon this Occaſion? And it will be added, Are *we* alone to bear ſuch Burthens, without a Proportion of *Expence* from thoſe who are our *Allies:* whilſt *Thoſe* whom we are oppoſing, ſeem to be at little, or none at all? To the firſt Branch of this *Queſtion*, *What is our Expence?* It is certainly enough to anſwer in General, Let it be what it

will; if it be neceſſary for *our own* Security, and that of *Europe*; if it be incurred for the preventing the greateſt *Evils*, and as the *only Means* of procuring a better State of Things: it may juſtly be ſaid, to be not at all comparable to the Neceſſity for it; not to be put in the *Balance* againſt the *Miſchiefs* which might have ariſen from the Want of it; and very much beneath the *Good* which has and will come from it. The whole Point to every *true Briton* is, Whether it was neceſſary, fitting, and reaſonable:--They that think it *certainly* ſo, and They that think it *probably* ſo, muſt be pleaſed with it. They that think it a mere Piece of *Gaiety* in Thoſe who preſide; or an haſty Blunder in the Dark; will have other Reſentments about it: But they muſt firſt *think* them *mere Mad-men*, or *mere Idiots*, before they can come to this. In the mean Time, till ſomething of this Sort appears, we cannot but think, That, if the attempting to guard ourſelves and our Neighbours from very great and comprehenſive *Evils*, be laudable; and if the preventing the Beginnings of thoſe *Evils* can make an *Expence* neceſſary, fitting, and reaſonable; then the *Expence* upon the preſent Occaſion is certainly ſo.

But as this in general is Satisfaction enough, of whatever Sort or Degree the Expence is; provided it be a *leſſer Evil* than what it has hitherto kept off: ſo it will not be diſagreeable to remark, That the *Expence* upon theſe *Naval Armaments* is of ſuch a Nature, and accompanied with ſuch *Circumſtances*, as to make

it

it much the more tolerable in the Eyes of every *Briton*. The Expence is chiefly an Expence amongſt ourſelves; and ſuch as only circulates Money from one Hand to another. The Victualling ſo many Ships is the Advantage of our own *Farmers* and *Graziers*. The Rigging out and equipping them, gives Mony to our own Builders and Workmen. The putting them into Motion when they are ſo repair'd, is known to be of Service to the Ships themſelves: which otherwiſe lie ſtill, and often receive ſuch Damage, as at the End it coſts more to rectify. The Employing ſo many Seamen is ſtill employing *our own* Subjects; and giving our Money to our own Country-Men: beſides the great future Benefit ariſing from this Neceſſity itſelf; as they are kept in Action by it, and inured to the Service of their *Country*, and the more fit to defend it upon all Occaſions to come. So that the *Expence* of our Naval *Defence*, which is the true and natural *Defence* of *Britain*; tho' it, indeed, muſt be a *Burthen* to *thoſe* who pay towards it, as *all Payments are:* yet it is a Burthen with this Advantage to the *Publick*, that it ſends not *our Money* abroad; it loſes it not to the *Nation*; it removes it indeed out of *one* Pocket into *another*, but it is ſtill *our* Money, and remains among *ourſelves*. The *Community* and *Body* of *Subjects* taken together are not the *Poorer* for it; tho' the *Perſons* paying it to others, are ſo: and if it be for their own *neceſſary Defence*, and for the Safety of all the Reſt of their Poſſeſſions, All ho-

honeſt Men among them will be glad, They are ſo.

But then our Expence, tho' great, is not alone. The Diſpoſitions made by *France*, ever ſince the Signing of the Treaty of *Hanover*, have more than kept pace with us, in the largeneſs of the *Expence*. The firſt Step taken by the moſt *Chriſtian King* was, to augment his regular Troops with *Twenty five Thouſand Men*; and this in ſuch a Manner, that they were preſently ready for Action upon any Occaſion. At the ſame Time he order'd a Levy of the *Militia*, to the Number of *Sixty Thouſand Men:* and appointed theſe to be commanded by the *Ancient Officers reform'd* of his old *Troops*; not to mention *Twelve Thouſand Invalids*, put into good Order, and *double Officer'd*, for the Defence of ſuch of his *Cittadels* and *Forts* as they are proper for. Theſe, and other Diſpoſitions, which have been made to put *France* into a Condition to ſupport a War, if it ſhould be neceſſary, amounted, for this laſt Year, by a certain Calculation, to fifteen hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds Sterling; and if the *Militia* ſhould be obliged to march out of their Provinces to the Frontiers, it will amount to a far greater Sum. And by this Method it comes to paſs, That theſe ſixty thouſand *Militia*, and twelve thouſand *Invalids*, remaining in *Garriſons* and fortified Places, as the Service ſhall require; That *King* can ſend into the Field, without Inconvenience, 165000 Men of his *Regular Troops*. Such has been for ſome Time the *Diſpoſition* there, in Order to ſhew the *New* Allies, that *France* is not only in earneſt,

earneſt, but in a well diſpoſed Condition of diſputing any *Attempts* againſt *itſelf*, or its *Allies*.

The *United Provinces* indeed, came but lately into the *Alliance*, from the Frame of their *Conſtitution*, naturally begetting *Delays* and prolonging their *Debates*; and not from any Want of the Senſe of their Dangers, and the Neceſſity of their acceding to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*. For from the Time of their *Acceſſion* to that *Treaty*, they have ſhewn a Warmth and Vigour worthy of the Occaſion. They have agreed unanimouſly upon ſuch Augmentations of their Land Forces, as by next Spring will make them above 50000 effective Men: And the neceſſary Meaſures are taking for their having a Fleet at Sea of Twenty Men of War. Beſides which *Expence*, relating to theſe *Augmentations*, They have been at a very great Charge in providing their Magazines, and putting their *Barrier* and *Frontier* Places into a good Poſture of *Defence*. But whoever reads the late *Reſolutions* and *Repreſentations* of the *States General*; and ſees with how deep a Concern, and in how pathetical a Manner, they ſpeak of the *Calamities* now threatning themſelves, and the reſt of *Europe*; declaring their Ruine muſt lye at their own Door, if all *the Provinces* do not, in a Caſe of ſuch Neceſſity, conſent to act the Part of Men in a vigorous Defence of themſelves, and readily concur in ‘ *What*, in the Opinion of their *High Mightineſſes*, is *indiſpenſably neceſſary* to the com‘ mon Safety and Preſervation; and without

‘ which

' which the *Well-being*, *Liberty* and *Religion* of ' the *whole Republick*, will be put to the Ven- ' ture '. Whoever reads this, and much more ſaid and inculcated by Them with a particular Vehemence, will not think, that They are not determin'd to defend themſelves by all neceſſary Meaſures againſt the Dangers now hanging over their Heads.

At the ſame Time, thoſe *Powers*, which have raiſed this *Allarm*, and occaſioned this *defenſive Expence* to their *Neighbours*, cannot ſtir one Step in their own *offenſive Deſigns*, without a very conſiderable one to themſelves. His *Imperial Majeſty*, beſides the many Promiſes of another Sort, which He has beſtow'd around Him, has entered into *real Obligations* which cannot be performed but at a very great Expence. To the *Elector* of *Cologne* he has engaged to pay 600,000 *German* Florins a Year, for two Years; to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, the ſame; to the *Elector Palatin* and of *Treves* the ſame; and to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* 200,000 Florins; beſides what is ſtipulated to others. Add to theſe his own great *Expences*, in recruiting and in refitting his whole Army, and preparing every thing of all Sorts, neceſſary for *Action*: An *Expence* in the whole ſo great! that nothing but the vaſt Advantages It is to receive from his new Alliance, and the Expectation of *Remittances* from *Spain*, could have induced him to think of it. And what then muſt the Expence of *Spain* be; which has not only it's own *Army* to put in Order and augment; not only it's own Towns and Coaſts to guard; but the Emperor's Demands to anſwer?

And

And what a *State* of things muſt the Neceſſities of *Spain* it ſelf, together with the *Demands* of the *Emperor*, bring that *King* and his *Country* into; even if his *Flota* with it's uſual *Cargo* of *Money* ſhould come Home ſafe: when it is well known, that, *before* theſe *new Expences*, (the Effect of the *New Alliance)* all the *Civil* and *Military* Officers belonging to that *Crown*, and their whole Army, were in great *Arrears*; and all the *Royal* Revenues anticipated for a Year and a Half; and that the *whole Nation* was in a State of very great Poverty and Diſtreſs? And if ſuch immenſe *Expences* can be run into with *Zeal*, for the Injury and Oppreſſion of other Countries: ſurely, an Expence, much ſmaller in itſelf; and directed ſolely to the Defence and *Preſervation* of *ourſelves* in the *Rights* and *Properties* we are juſtly in Poſſeſſion of, cannot be thought unworthy of the *Britiſh Nation*; nor unjuſtifiable in Thoſe who have already begun it, only becauſe they thought it abſolutely *neceſſary*. But ſtill *other Queſtions* ariſe upon this Subject.

It may be asked, Could not the Court of *Great Britain* all this while have tryed *other Methods*, than allarming *Europe* with *Fleets*? The Methods of a friendly *Congreſs*, or Propoſals of a more peaceable and amicable Nature? Was there no Way of proceeding, but demanding of the *Emperor*, the ſole Propriety of *Trade*; and engroſſing it to *Britain* and *Holland*: as if *other Nations* had no Right to the *World*, beſides our ſelves? In which Way of talking there is ſomething very right, and ſomething very

wrong. For certainly it muſt be granted, that we ought to prepare ourſelves with Vigour to oppoſe *Injury*; as well as to be ready to propoſe, or receive, any reaſonable Methods of Accommodation. To do the *firſt*, without a Diſpoſition ſhewn to the *latter*, I acknowledge, would have been unjuſtifiable. To do the *latter* without the *firſt*, had been Weakneſs and Folly: and could have proceeded from *nothing* but a *Total Ignorance* of the plaineſt *Rules* of political Conduct; which have long ago eſtabliſhed It as a certain *Maxim*, that the beſt Way to *Peace* upon ſuch Occaſions, is with the *Sword* prepared for the Day of Neceſſity; and that thoſe *Powers*, who can ſuffer themſelves to invade or demand the *Rights* of *others*, will laugh at all Accommodations offered, when they ſee them unaccompanied with ſuch *Appearances* as ſhew the *Reſolution* of Thoſe others to defend their *Rights* by *Force*, if Reaſon cannot prevail.

I anſwer therefore, to *theſe* and the like *Queſtions*. 1. It never could have been juſtified, in the Court of *Great-Britain*, to have made *Propoſals* of *Accommodation*, without the moſt *vigorous* Meaſures taken, which alone could make them effectual. 2. In ſome of the *Pretences* and *Demands* of this *new Alliance*, no Equivalent, no Accommodation, could be propoſed. In the *Caſe* of the Demand of *Gibraltar*; whilſt the *Nation* ſeems univerſally to concur, that no Sum of Money, nor any other Place of Strength abroad, can be any *Equivalent* to it: what could be propoſed, but a *Reſolution* to defend the *Nation* in its juſt

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of it; eſpecially, ſince the whole preſent Conduct of *Spain* may aſſure us, by a freſh Evidence, that it is of the utmoſt Importance; and that, if that Place were once gone out of our Hands, we ſhould have ſtill leſs Hope of ſeeing Treaties obſerv'd, or of hindering ourſelves from being more and more injured, on that ſide, in our *Commerce*? 3. In the *other* great Caſe, that of the *Emperor*'s new Eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*, the Court of *Great-Britain* never went upon ſuch an arbitrary Maxim as, That *other Nations* ought not to be permitted to begin and extend their *Commerce* wherever they *rightfully* could, as well as *ourſelves*; or that *we* had any Right to oppoſe ſuch Attempts: But upon theſe undoubted Maxims of *Truth* and *Right*,---That *Treaties* are to be obſerved;---That, when any Country is excluded by Treaties from any particular Branch of Commerce, it is not to be authorized and ſupported in carrying on the ſaid Branches of Commerce in violation of the ſaid Treaties; and---That *thoſe Powers* which have, by repeated *Engagements*, obliged themſelves to defend and ſupport the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Trade, are juſtly to be oppoſed when they themſelves come to be the *Invaders* and *Deſtroyers* of it. Agreeably to all this, 4. As the *Court* of *Great-Britain* has taken ſuch *vigorous Meaſures* as ſhew the *Reſolution* of *Self-defence*: ſo, has it never been wanting either to propoſe, or to receive, any reaſonable Method for the Accommodation of this Matter, to the *Emperor*'s Satisfaction; if He could be ſatisfied with any thing, but a *Trade* in open Contradiction to all Treaties.

In particular, It was sufficiently intimated to the Court of *Vienna*, that the *British Court* pretended to nothing in this Affair, but to defend the *Right* of *Trade* belonging to *Britain* by *Treaties*; far from assuming to themselves any Right of controlling the *Emperor*, or his Subjects, in any Attempts, not contrary to those Treaties: That therefore, if the *Emperor* would remove this *Company*, and the Seat of *Trade*, now at *Ostend*, to *Trieste*, or any other Place in his *Dominions*, which did not heretofore belong to the *Spanish* Monarchy; *Britain* was ready quietly to acquiesce. And the same was offer'd to the Court of *Madrid*, in the form of a *Proposal*, when his *Catholick Majesty* had just begun to espouse the *Emperor's Interest*, in this Affair of *Ostend*.

But tho' the *Court* of *Spain* not only acknowledged the Reasonableness of the *Proposal*; but made great Professions of Hope that it would be accepted: yet, at the same Time, it was declared, That *Spain* was under Engagements to stand by the *Emperor*, even supposing his *unreasonable* Refusal of it. And at *Vienna*, the Intimation made no *Impression* at all: The Resolution there, by this appearing plainly to be, The Support of the *Ostend Company*, and *Trade* from the *Netherlands*, against all *Stipulations*.

But however this ended at *Vienna* and *Madrid*; It must have this Effect at *London*, to convince all Persons, that, as *no one*, either real or pretended, *Provocation* from *Britain*, gave the first *Occasion* for this *new Alliance*; (one End of which was the Establishment of the Emperor's new and unwarrantable Designs in *Trade*:) So, the

Court

Court of *Great-Britain*, in the midſt of all Preparations for the *Defence* of this *Nation*'s Rights, has not neglected to try *other Methods* of a *peaceable* and *amicable* Nature; but ſhewn a readineſs to do any thing, even for preſent Peace, except to give up the *Advantages*, *Rights* and *Privileges* of *Britain*, of more Importance than preſent Peace: and theſe *Advantages* founded upon Treaties; which therefore, They who preſide are obliged to guard and defend, as a ſacred *Depoſitum*, not only out of Love to their *Country* common to Them with all others, but out of *peculiar Duty* and Obligation; as they are intruſted with this *Guardianſhip* and Defence, by the *Publick*; and as an Account of this Truſt may juſtly be demanded of them.

If then, nothing reaſonable, in the Way of *Accommodation*, has been wanting on their Part; They will not eaſily be blamed, (it is to be hoped rather, they will be highly commended) for This, that They have not permitted themſelves to be miſled by any ſmooth Words without Meaning; or to be hindred from taking all neceſſary Precautions, by any *Amuſements* of *Congreſſes*, or *Embaſſies*, or *Negotiations*, only thrown in their Way to gain *Time* to others, and to loſe it to themſelves: Since it is evident, that *irreparable* and *irretrievable* Evils might have come from the not taking theſe neceſſary and timely Precautions. And were it ſo, that They had ſpent their whole Time in ſending and receiving fruitleſs Meſſages backwards and forwards, in ſuch a critical Conjuncture; we may venture to ſay, we know the Perſons

ſons who would have been the *firſt* to charge, (and very deſervedly too) the Ruine of this *Nation* upon them; and to have demanded Juſtice againſt them for ſuch a Conduct, in ſuch a Time of Danger to their Country.

And indeed, ſuppoſing this to have been the Caſe; ſuppoſing the Court of *Great Britain*, in ſuch a Situation; with ſuch repeated Advices from all Parts; with ſuch Demonſtrations of Danger from abroad, as put out of all Doubt the true Nature and Deſigns of ſo formidable an *Alliance* as that of the *Emperor* and *Spain*: I ſay, ſuppoſing this Court, ſurrounded with all theſe Evidences, to have entered into *no* Meaſures of Defence with any neighbouring *States* and *Princes*; to have taken *no* Steps towards preventing the Miſchief threaten'd; to have ſent out *no Naval Armaments*, either to preſerve any *friendly* Powers, or to quaſh any Attempts of *others*; Who would not riſe up, and demand an Account of ſuch a Conduct from Thoſe who alone are to anſwer for it? Who would not join in ſaying, 'Is this the *Uſage* fit to be given to a *brave* and 'conſiderng People? Is this the watchfulneſs of 'Thoſe, whoſe Duty it is to attend to every diſtant 'View of Danger? Or, do They think ſo meanly 'of *us*, and the *whole Nation*, that we can *ſee* 'nothing but what we *feel*; and that we have a 'Senſe of *no Evil*, but what is *preſent*: Or, 'that we are ſo made, that a *little Expence* 'would affright us from preſerving our *all*; or, 'reduced to ſo *low* a Condition of Poverty, that 'we can't purchaſe or furniſh out even *Self-de-*

fence

' *fence* to our ſelves? Were not other *Princes*
' and *States* threatned by the ſame Danger; and
' ready to unite with us? Muſt our *Fleet*, the
' Glory (as it is call'd) of this Land, lie ſtill and
' decay, rather than be made our Bulwark? Our
' *Fleet*, falſly call'd our *Glory*, but *indeed* our
' Shame, whilſt it is laid aſide as uſeleſs, at a Time
' when That alone might make us look too for-
' midable in *Europe*, to be inſulted or affronted?
' Or, does even this *Expence* which circulates
' chiefly amongſt ourſelves, appear too formidable
' to a *Nation* which thoſe around it *envy*, as
' the *Centre* of *Riches* and *Plenty?* But why do
' we ſpeak of *Expence?* It is this Method of
' *Indolence* and *Inactivity* upon ſuch an Occaſi-
' on, which muſt bring after it an *Expence* much
' *greater* in itſelf; and much more hazardous in
' its Effect; as Time ſhall add *Strength* to the
' *Danger* threaten'd: an *Expence*, which muſt
' *increaſe* our Debt, and at the ſame Time *dimi-*
' *niſh* the Hope of paying it. What Account
' can we give of ſuch a *Treatment* of this Nation?
' As we can find *none* in all the known Meaſures of
' *Political Prudence*; we muſt ſearch for it ſome-
' where elſe.---There muſt be *ſecret Reaſons* for
' ſuch a Conduct; and perhaps *theſe* may lye in
' the *Riches* of *Spain*, ſuffered to come ſafely
' home, to ſtrengthen and conſolidate the moſt
' dangerous *Conjunction* that ever yet appeared in
' *Europe*'.---This and much more might juſtly be urged, upon the Suppoſition of a *negligent* and *unactive* Conduct in this *Criſis* of *Danger*. And what Reply to make to it, I profeſs I think it utterly impoſſible to tell. But

But this is not the Caſe. The *Court* of *Great Britain* has acted quite another Part; and enter'd into *that* Method of *vigorous Self-defence*, by which alone, in all human Wiſdom, there can be the leaſt Hope of preventing or repulſing any dangerous Attempts againſt all our higheſt Concerns: and a *Method*, to which No other Principle could poſſibly have directed Thoſe who have choſen it, but *That* of an *honeſt Regard* to the *Poſſeſſions*, the *Trade*, the *Rights*, the *Well-Being*, and the *Being* itſelf, of this now happy and envied Nation.

F I N I S.